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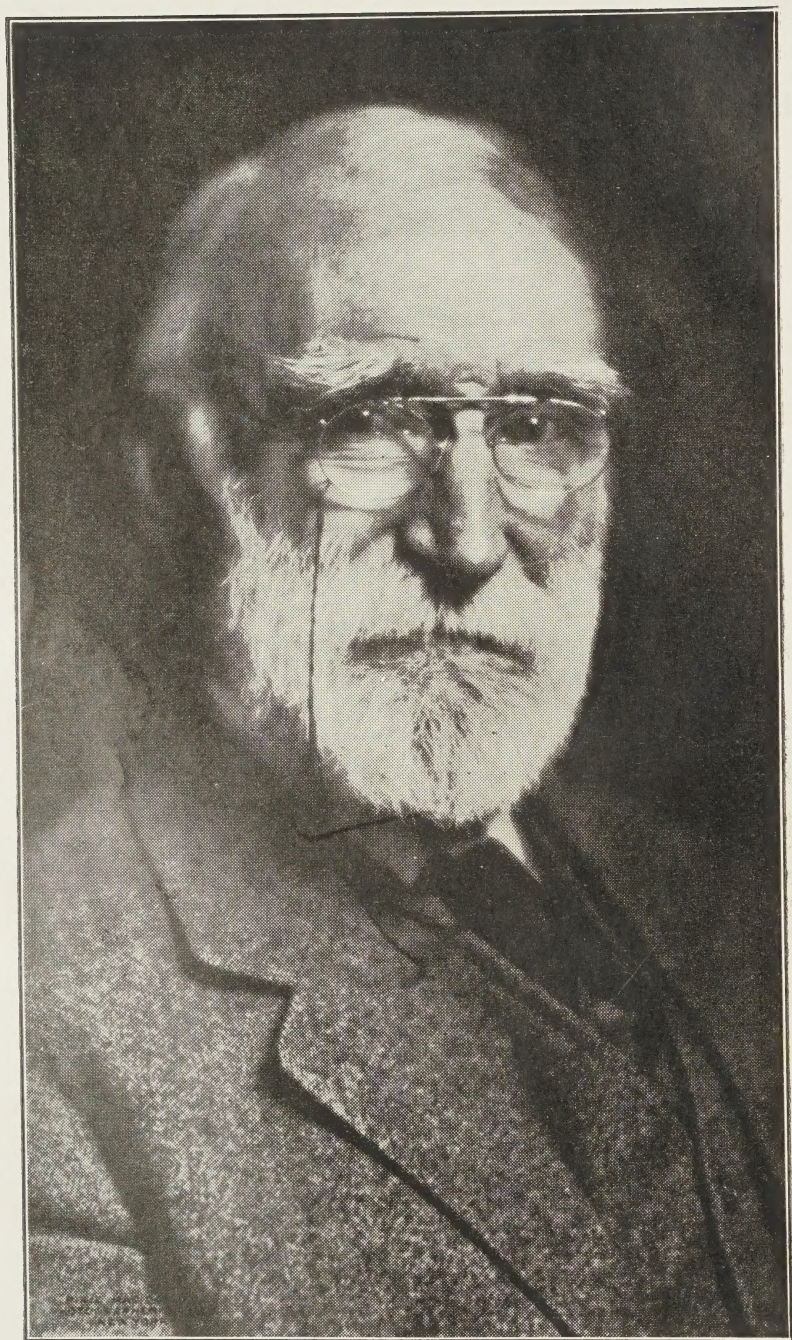
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JAMES DOUGLAS, LL.D., 1837-1918
Chancellor of Queen's, 1915-1918

Queen's Quarterly.

VOL. XXVI

July, August, September, 1918

No. 1

THE LATE CHANCELLOR DOUGLAS.

THE death of Dr. James Douglas on June 25, 1918, leaves two nations poorer. In an active life of eighty-one years he had contributed much to the upbuilding of great industries in the United States, and had still maintained a deep and helpful interest in the affairs of Canada and particularly of Canadian universities.

Queen's has special reason to cherish the memory of the most generous of her benefactors. The Douglas Tutorships in Practical Science, which have immensely improved the thoroughness of the instruction given; the Douglas Lectureship in Pharmacology; the chair of Colonial History, the first in Canada; the grant toward the Women's Residence; the Memorial Library; the grants to meet war deficits, and the culminating promise of half a million, contingent on the raising of a similar amount, attest a liberality as unflagging as it was discriminate.

Yet generous as were these gifts, it is rather the memory of the man himself that is the richest endowment he has left. It was a rare privilege and an unending stimulus to come in touch with a man of the straightforward simplicity and nobility of character of James Douglas. Particularly significant was the union in him of qualities rarely found together. That capacity for original scientific research should go along with shrewd practical business sense, though not common, is not without precedent. But that a scientist and man of business should possess a keen and abiding appreciation of literature and of history, and should be able to make contributions in both fields of no small merit, is only too rare an occurrence in this day of specialization. It is to these two sides of Dr. Douglas' activities that reference is made in the notes which follow.

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James Douglas as a Man of Letters.

THE literary baggage of the late Chancellor of Queen's is not large in itself, yet it is large for a man who rose to the first rank as a practical scientist. In 1894 he published: *Canadian Independence, Annexation, and British Imperial Federation*, an exposition of the thesis that annexation of Canada to the United States would make the united nation gross and unwieldy; that Imperial Federation could come only between self-respecting and therefore independent nations; and that therefore independence should be for Canada the immediate goal. This book, or rather booklet, was the outcome of a number of articles and letters in *The Nation*, to which he was for many years a frequent contributor.

In 1905 he issued *Quebec in the Seventeenth Century*. In 1910 he published for private circulation *The Journals and Reminiscences of James Douglas*, an account of the life of his father, founder of the Beauport Asylum, and a leader in the humanization of the treatment of the insane. In 1913 came *New England and New France*, a series of essays contrasting alike the actualities and the ideals of seventeenth century colonization.

Deeply as he loved it, the study of Canadian history was to him never more than a hobby; he makes no claim to originality of investigation, or to the finding of unpublished manuscripts; but as far as published material went, he sought the original sources, and he interpreted them with shrewdness and accuracy. His scientific training and habit of mind come out not only in his lucidity of statement, but even more in his shrewd, penetrating, at times slightly hard comments on men and things. Thus, in dealing with the Roman Catholic Church, while scrupulously fair in his statement of facts, he leaves no doubt that he is on the side of freedom of thought, and considers the Church to stand against it. Perhaps in the long run his earliest book will be considered his most valuable, for in it his gift for shrewd, pithy sayings has the freest play.

In a sense his ideals of literary composition, as he laid them down in more than one address at Queen's and elsewhere, are even more valuable for the Canada of to-day than his historical writings. The loving exactness of observation given

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by scientific study; the deep reverence inspired by daily traffic with elements and processes which go back to the time when the Creative Spirit moved upon the face of primeval Chaos; the high imagination which thinks the thoughts of God after Him, and links the scattered fact to the unalterable law; these are no bad training for the man of letters. The contemplation of the beauty of the moral law; the rapt discussion of "fixed fate, free-will, foreknowledge absolute"; the vision of man as but a point in space and time, and yet as the microcosm in which all is comprehended; the study, whether to justify or to condemn, of the ways of God to man, through the Hebrew Scriptures down to the Classical and thence to the Modern; from these comes the human touch which the scientist might lack.

Such was the literary training of James Douglas. He saw no reason why the scientific man should write in a pompous, technical jargon, or the literary man use English as though it were a dead language; he ever urged literary simplicity, lucidity and precision upon the students of science; and scientific simplicity, lucidity and precision upon the votaries of the Classics; and in his writings he practised what he preached.

W. L. GRANT.

James Douglas as a Man of Science.

A scientific mind of the first order has a power which makes it of very near kin to the highest type of literary mind,—imagination. This faculty is indispensable to the maker, whether of song, story, or scientific discovery and generalization. It may be justly claimed for James Douglas that his mind was of this order, and it is significant that, while his life work was productive in extending the bounds of knowledge, he found time to write enough to have marked him out as a man of distinct literary power. His inheritance would account for this double ability, if any accounting were needed. His father was a physician of Quebec, resourceful and versatile—not content with being a mere practitioner, but organizing for Quebec the first Asylum for the Insane which that province had. His mother was a Ferguson, aunt of Dr. Geo. D. Ferguson, professor emeritus of history. In these days of high

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specialization James Douglas's education may not be considered as calculated to fit him specially for his life work. A course in Arts followed by a rather extended study of Theology prepared him for the ministry, but the preparation included the study of mathematics. He also took a partial course in medicine, and physics, geology, and chemistry. For several years he was professor of chemistry and other sciences in Morrin College, Quebec. The brilliant success of his life is to be explained by his native powers, rather than by the kind of subjects he studied. That kind of mind needs only to be started on the road, or even may do with a hint of the way.

When force of circumstances (his father's rather unsuccessful venture in copper mining) turned young Douglas away from theology and medicine (he had intended to succeed his father) into copper smelting he found himself equipped with the elements of science. That was enough. For the rest there were books and men to consult. In association with Sterry Hunt he worked out a process for extracting copper from ores which were too lean for the methods then in use.* The process did not come into general use. In 1911 there was only one important works (in Kansas City) where it was being carried on. The engineer in charge, Mr. R. C. Canby, wrote of it as follows: "Theoretically the Hunt & Douglas Process seems to present an ideal treatment for leady copper mattes, as the lead, silver, and gold are promptly returned as bullion through the smelting of an excellent iron flux, and an equally prompt production is made of an almost chemically pure copper, by the smelting of the suboxide, thus avoiding the heavy interest charges which are incurred in the slower electrolytic refining." He then goes on to discuss operating difficulties, all but one of which had been overcome, and adds: "I have always felt that the Hunt & Douglas process is so perfect in its theoretical reactions . . . that some effort should have been made to overcome this remaining operating difficulty." This process was adopted in 1875 at a works in Phoenixville, Pa., and Douglas was employed as manager. While he was successful in extracting the copper, his faculty for business, which undoubt-

*Engineering and Mining Journal, June 10th, 1911. I wish to acknowledge indebtedness to Professor C. W. Drury for references to metallurgical journals.

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edly was very great, seems at that time to have hardly matured. But, as he expressed it himself in a short autobiographical sketch written for *Queen's Quarterly* in 1916, "my experiences as manager have been to me personally of vital value. It was during the eight years of my residence in Pennsylvania that as an expert I became acquainted with certain mining properties in Arizona." The reference is to the Copper Queen at Bisbee and other copper mining properties in the same district.

Copper was to be James Douglas' life work. Already in 1870 we find him writing on "The Copper Deposits of Harvey Hill," but also in the same year on "Spectroscopic Observations of the Sun." In a list of papers, etc., given by Dr. Albert R. Ledoux, on the occasion of the presentation of the John Fritz medal to Dr. Douglas, nine of the seventeen in the list treat of copper. The remaining eight cover a wide range, including such subjects as *Technical Progress, Influence of Railroads on the Mineral Industry, Development of the Railroads of North America and their Control by the State, Earthquakes in Mines, and Untechnical Addresses upon Technical Subjects*. To these might be added the titles of many papers and pamphlets on history, politics, and other subjects, showing how keen was his appreciation of the past as well as his observation of current events. The greatness of his nature is seen in the fact that this unusual versatility and wide range of interest did not prevent him from becoming a world authority on the metallurgy of copper. His attainments in this respect are not to be measured by his published papers on the subject, numerous and valuable as these are. His quick intuition and fine intelligence were constantly in use in overcoming difficulties met with in copper smelting and refining, in improving processes, and in investigating the possibilities of new methods. The greater part of this work would not lead to the writing and publication of papers, not, however, because he was of that secretive nature which fears to publish any new thing discovered, lest some competitor should benefit. Dr. Ledoux says of him in the address already mentioned: "He believed that free trade in ideas worked to the advantage of all concerned." It was this largeness of nature added to his gift of imagination which enabled him to win the confidence and esteem of the

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Phelps-Dodge Company, who employed him to test the Copper Queen Mine, and who upon his favorable report purchased the mine, and made him manager with a share in the business. The venture justified his judgment, being enormously profitable. On his advice, the company extended their operations throughout the district and later into Mexico. In all this extension, including the opening of new mines, the building of railroads, the construction of great smelting plants, and the organizing of a coal company (as Dr. Ledoux puts it), "Dr. Douglas supplied the imagination necessary in all great enterprises."

Dr. Douglas was at his best in addressing meetings of scientific societies or gatherings of students. The writer has had the privilege of listening to him upon such occasions, and was always impressed with his faculty for bringing forward the larger aspects of a subject, even when, as often happens in meetings of specialists, the subject under discussion might seem to be hopelessly narrow. But he never made the mistake of escaping the restrictions by using vague generalities or platitudes. In what he said there was always something stimulating and suggestive. One was also impressed by the essential kindness and quick sympathy of the man. It was his nature to be helpful to others.

It is difficult to give any detailed account and estimate of James Douglas's contributions to science. His power lay in the ability to see large opportunities for the application of science to the mining and metallurgical industries. His breadth of mind and his habit of scholarship contributed to give him at the same time an abundant store of information and a quick perception of possible applications. In the use of his genius for seeing what should be done he was not niggardly, but freely offered valuable suggestions where they were needed. This was consistent with the general largeness of his nature and his quick sympathy with struggling humanity. In my own intercourse with him, I have always been impressed with these characteristics of a great man.

W. L. GOODWIN.

THE RELIGION AND THEOSOPHY OF ST. PAUL

BY W. MORGAN, D.D.

ON the 10th of June the Christian Missionary Alliance meeting in Toronto were treated to a very remarkable forecast in political meteorology. Our recent victories in Palestine it seems, can be proved from the Scriptures, if we would only search them as the Romans in their times of stress consulted their Sibylline Books, to have sealed the Kaiser's fate. Not at once, it is true. There will still be hard times ahead of us. That "balance of power," in which worldly-minded statesmen put their trust, will prove but an arm of flesh. We shall not be able to prevent Germany from effecting a union with Russia so complete that these two great powers, as brains and brawn respectively, shall make but one body between them. "Then God help the rest of the world, especially the British Empire!" you will say. Exactly. God will help. He will take the somewhat unusual course of interfering personally. The resulting situation of His own people, the Jews, will leave Him no choice. For the Jews are to be restored to Palestine. That is, apparently, the one solid gain we can expect from our present efforts. But it will carry everything with it in the long run. For though the Germans, like many other downtrodden Gentiles, will be glad enough to send the Jews to Jericho and to confirm their right to it in fee simple for ever by the most solemn scraps of paper, yet of course we know enough of them by now—not counting that the fulfilment of prophecy inexorably demands it—to be quite certain that, when it suits them, they will tear their treaty up. They cannot fail to covet the "land of unfenced villages." With countless hosts of Russians, to say nothing of Turks and others, Russians properly drilled and equipped at last, they will come down like a flood upon the hills of Judah, and by sheer miracle—nothing less, certainly, will suffice—they shall leave their bones there. "That the prophecy of Ezekiel might be fulfilled," the chroniclers will write. For behold! these are our old friends Gog and Magog from the North.

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It will be a satisfaction to the prophet to see his monsters materialize at last after some 2500 years. He expected them quite soon. They did not come. It was, on the contrary, Cyrus who came from the North, the nearest approach to the Jewish idea of a Messiah probably that has ever so far turned up, the only man who has ever yet taken the slightest step towards restoring the Captivity of Israel. They did not keep their appointment with Ezekiel. That fact, however, did not discourage the forward-looking Jews after him, any more than it does our Toronto Apocalyptist, from continuing to expect them. Had not a real Canonical prophet foretold them? Their not having come yet was merely the demonstration that they had only been postponed. "They would come this time!" every next Rabbinical visionary at second hand was all the surer just because they had completely left his last predecessor in the lurch. It was like a rolling snowball that should start up quite as large as ever no sooner than it had melted. Scarcely less miraculous than that in its persevering credulity. These hoary spectres could never live and never die. They became a sort of ghostly repeating decimal in the nightmare of apocalyptic arithmetic, a standing element in that vast rainbow of letter-worshipping illusion, the chase of which, along with the other limb of it, their Law, brought the Jews at last to their final rock of stumbling and shipwreck upon the Cross of Jesus Christ. Surely that was the end of both those stone-age superstitions; not only of the Law, as St. Paul tells us, but also and still more obviously and utterly of Gog and Magog and Company. Thenceforward things began to move, as we ought to be able to see by this time, on an altogether different plane.

Many Anglo-Saxon Christians do not see it. The fact that they do not and all that that implies is even a greater asset to our enemies, I firmly believe, than the breakdown of Russia, which is itself in the last resort due to an essentially identical state of mind. We are too prone to smile at such things as quite trifling aberrations. They are not. Idolatry is never a trifle. It rots the soul quite up surely and not less hideously than our pet vice—the sin, I mean, which we most delight to damn—dram-drinking. And first idolatry is the sin we are inclined to. Our only bulwark and sure defence just now is

Christ's Cross. And what do they know of that, and what it means for us this summer, who have the time to toy with Gog and Magog in the shade? The last times have fallen upon us. Is it with fantasies like these we meet them? Have we so learned Christ? Then woe to us. A people calling themselves Christian among whom the wildest excesses of that very same Bibliolatry, that poisoned and ruined the Jews, is still so widely rampant and unashamed, a people so mentally deliquescent in what passes for the weightiest element among them, so little in earnest about the things that most belong to their peace, that one of the licensed and respected exponents of their Religion can dare at a moment of gravest crisis and searching of heart to go back 2500 years in order to resuscitate for the comfort and guidance of a seriously minded audience among his countrymen such still-born phantoms of antique mythology and age-long addled eggs as Gog and Magog—such a people is very heavily handicapped indeed in a life and death struggle with intelligent enemies who are far from lacking a sense of fact like the Germans. It is much worse than Nero fiddling when Rome was burning. Saul, in the crisis of his fate, turning to the Witch of Endor, is more like it in some ways. But poor Saul was at least not smug; he was in deadly earnest. The exact parallel—*absit omen!*—is to be found only in the Doctors of the Law still sucking comfort out of their worm-eaten rolls of the Similitudes of the Book of Enoch with the armies of Titus encamped around Jerusalem.

But thank Heaven there are more cheerful signs of the times to be observed in Canada than such addresses delivered to the Christian Missionary Alliance. Sodom, we are told in the old story, might have been saved had it held within its walls ten just men. On that scale, it may reasonably be hoped, our behaviour under the stern test we are now undergoing has shown, on the whole, along with much that is not needful, the presence among us of the saving minimum and remnant of the *one thing that is needful*. There are sound spots in our nation, centres of vigorous life. Obscure enough, some of them, like most of the really redemptive forces—their products not coming with so much observation from the newspapers as do long-shots at unfulfilled prophecy! It is a quiet unnoticed work they do, like the dew and the light, but the time comes

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when its results are far-seen and speak loudly enough for all to hear, sometimes from the cannon's mouth. They shape the world in the secret depths from which all visible issues proceed, though the world is seldom conscious enough of its debt to them to refresh them with any very lavish return of its tangibilities. High among these quiet salutary influences and "cheap defences" of our nation, one is proud to count Queen's College, and not least high there the Theological Faculty. In the deepest concerns of our general well-being it has long been a modest Pharos steadily holding up the light; a home of that spirit in which alone there is any health for us of free service, fearless reverence, unflinching loyalty to truth and earnest pursuit of that. In what Canadian of our time has that ideal been so powerfully embodied as in Principal Grant? Who ever worked so hard or so courageously to cut out the undergrowth and dead wood that are plainly still so rife in all our Churches, to let in air and light, and make elbow-room for the other woodcutters like himself who inevitably gathered round him? Of all the men I have known he did most, both directly and indirectly, by his own work and the work of those whom he inspired and encouraged, to clear the general mind of cant. He died too soon by far. But the good he did lives after him. A school of Theology, which has in it such men as Dr. Jordan, Dr. Ernest Scott, and Dr. Morgan, is the best possible monument to him, a living monument in which his spirit still puts forth leaves and fruit for the healing and nourishment of the nation he loved so well and served so faithfully.

One notable example of such fruits is this book of Professor Morgan's on St. Paul. It is worthy of the liberating and illuminating tradition of Queen's. Here in the most vigorous form we have the antidote to that servile and sinful Bibliolatry which is still the chief bane of our Religiosity. Gog and Magog will not be likely to rise from their limbo and haunt the imagination of any ingenuous aspirant to the ill-paid honours of teacher in our Israel who comes under the influence of this real Doctor of Divinity. The air of his classroom will not be favourable to the resuscitation of mouldy mythologoumena. He will let old illusions be dead when it is plain that their brains are out, and not rack honest young natural eyes by pious sophistries into agonies of abortive effort

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to squint them into a ghastly semblance of life. His book is admirably written in a style that is strong and clear, at times even beautiful. He has taken no end of trouble to acquaint himself with all the great mass of matter quite recently made available to illuminate St. Paul's way of thinking, which is further removed from ours in some ways than even Ezekiel's. All that matter has been thoroughly meditated and sifted by him. His work is the first systematic attempt, so far as I know, in our language or in any other, to put every aspect of the Apostle's thinking into the full light of what is now known about his intellectual environment, the world of thought and fancy in which he and his contemporaries lived. But to my mind his most precious merit is his absolutely transparent veracity. "*Amicus Paulus sed magis amica veritas.*" Paul was the great Apostle of freedom. He refused to bow, he understood Christianity to mean the refusal to bow, to any external authority whatever, even to the authority of his Master as He lived in the flesh! And yet to this day men have thought they were following this fiery abolitionist of the Law and the Letter by turning his own dead letter into a yoke of law. Dr. Morgan does not take that line. Paul's spirit has set him free from the tyranny of Paul's mere words. He pays that great teacher the compliment of taking him seriously when he himself expressly declares that his "knowledge" would pass away. That "knowledge" has in very large part already passed away. It has gone the way of all the Theosophies. A clear and honest statement of what it was and where it came from, such as is convincingly given in this book, leaves no doubt whatever as to that.

Paul did not invent his general view of the world or the forms of his Theological apparatus; nor did he get them from any miraculous revelation. These things were in the air of his time. He could not live and breathe and fail to draw them in, any more than the rest of his contemporaries. Some of them seem strange enough to us. He certainly believed, for instance, in the ceaseless activity of all sorts of angels, good and bad, to such an extent that he seems to have thought it highly unsafe for women, "because of the angels", to leave their long hair uncovered. Was it because it gave the bad ones a dangerous pull upon them; or because its beauty made

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it dangerously tempting even to the better ones?—He was “debtor to both Jews and Greeks” in quite a different sense from that in which he made the statement. Not merely did he feel himself bound to help them both; he helped himself quite liberally from both. And indeed, if he was going to do the first, it is quite manifest he could not quite escape doing the other. For a preacher must not only speak the language but think the thoughts of those whom he wishes to convince. He must start from common ground with them. If he is to be at all widely effective he must share at least three-quarters of their illusions. Even Jesus, who was a poet and a prophet, that is to say, not in the least a theologian like Paul on his mortal and most bulky side, who, therefore, gave far fewer hostages than he to changeful fortune, did that. Paul says so. At least I understand him to imply as much by his terrifically audacious statement that if he had hitherto “known the Christ according to the flesh henceforth he should know Him so no longer.” And, in any case, surely no careful reader of the Gospels who is capable of taking plain words in their plain sense can now fail to see that it was in fact so.

One chief benefit of some acquaintance with the literary records of other days than our own is the growing perception that the great simple Eternal truths, by which the spirit lives in all ages, can make a shift to fit themselves from time to time in very perishable garb, a vesture woven largely out of the superficial errors of any given time, were it the stone age. The wise and simple feed upon the inner kernel of truth and sit loose to the enveloping error, sometimes even keeping it with its sting out as a picture or parable of the truth, it may be an astonishingly vivid and effective picture. The scribes and theologians, on the other hand, are apt to show a most unholy expertness in holding on like grim death to the dirty water and very learnedly throwing out the baby. That is why it so frequently happens that ignorance is bliss, why the most erudite persons at any given moment are very apt to be the greatest fools.

St. Paul's theological rubrics belong to the above mentioned class of transitory things. We now know, with a clearness that cannot fail to come home irresistibly to any moderately candid reader of Dr. Morgan's book, that they were mere

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lendings and "beggarly elements." No one, not even Pope Benedict or the Moderator of the Wee Free Kirk, will consider himself bound to attribute any impeccable dictation from on high to the Jews (living, most of them, well after the time of Malachi!), or to the Pagan Greeks, from whom he borrowed these things. His Jewish Doctors of Divinity, whom he tried without much success (small blame to them!) to convince out of their own mouths, though not otherwise remarkable for modesty were themselves well aware, as a rule, to do them justice, that they were mere diligent repeaters with no claim whatever to the raptures of direct supernatural illumination. Still less, if possible, is any one tempted to suppose that our salvation is bound up with our accepting as strict realities that peculiar category of celestial Beings, and the same visions of hope and fear, that filled the imaginations of his Corinthians and Colossians. These were the people with whom he had to do. If he had not begun by getting a hearing from them, we should never have heard of him. In order to pay the price, which was whole-hearted and whole-headed immersion in his own time—his entry money for admittance as a force into this world at all, he had to forfeit a large measure of ready intelligibility, and indeed validity and cogency for our time. And the price we have to pay for warming ourselves through and through at the fire of his mighty spirit, which kindled Luther and so for the second time renovated a world, is to be honest in the elimination of the dead ashes under which he has long been burning very low. We must not merely translate his language into English, we must transpose his forms of thought into our own key, reclothe him in imagery that is alive to us. If we have known him after the flesh we must henceforth know him so no longer. We must, in the first place, indeed, ask as Dr. Morgan does so conscientiously,—“What did Paul say to the Romans and Galatians?” These old Hecubas are not nothing to us. We without them cannot be made perfect. But neither can they without us. We must then go on to ask what would Paul say to us Canadians and in what terms, if he had been educated, a man with his head of light and heart of fire, not at the feet of Gamaliel in Jerusalem and before that by Greekling schoolmasters in the elementary schools, and by Stoic street-preachers, Asiatic mystery-mon-

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gers, Roman soldiers and Greek pugilists, in the streets of Tarsus ("quite a place!" he would have you know)—but say at the feet of Dr. Jordan, who knows a good deal more about the Old Testament than ever Gamaliel did, and of Dr. John Watson, who would have really taught him some philosophy, "on the old Ontario strand." He thought pretty small sour wine of Athens! That does not trouble me much. He was no great judge of Athens' best. But I tremble to think what he would have said of Montreal, and the Christian Missionary Alliance! He had an amazingly rough tongue at times.

The thing that is really inspired in St. Paul is—his inspirations. Not the reasons he gives for them. The great conclusions into which he breaks through at his high points are much more easy of assimilation than the premises he tries to derive them from. The Holy Spirit, *salva reverentia*, did give him visions, but did not spare him or any other the labour of working them out as best he could with the means at his and every other man's disposal for himself.

"Tasks in hours of insight willed
Can be through hours of gloom fulfilled!"

Quite a new world had dawned upon him in the Crucified Christ. God, who had been so far away for both Jews and Greeks, has come closest to both just at the point of most irreducible discord and separation, the lowest depth and last word of human impotence and failure and sin. God is at last really Omnipotent and Omnipresent, not as heretofore infinitely remote—and absolutely ineffective. Nothing human is alien to Him. In the extreme and *crucial* case He has demonstrated His presence and power to subdue all things to Himself. Walking in the great light of this revelation, this heavenly vision to which he cannot be disobedient, Paul is entirely at home in the Universe for the first time. He is lord of all things, both of life and death; and in love with all.

That is the inspiration which finds a ringing voice in so many a glorious word of his. It is the new wine of his intuition of the Cross. But being by birth and breeding an incurable and quite impenitent theologian, and stung by his logic-chopping oestrus to give a reasoned account of everything, he is constrained to put the new wine into the old bot-

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ties. There were no others to be had then. We are still labouring, or we ought to be, at the hard and still unfinished task of their construction. Our philosophers are the glass-blowers. It cannot be said that their work is yet completed. Paul's Christian experience of God's nearness, nay indwelling, has to express itself just in the terms which its own essential life has secretly antiquated, the categories of Jewish and Hellenistic supernaturalism. The divine treasure must provisionally accommodate itself to the earthen vessels with which it is its own very nature to be quite incommensurable. For him God's sovereign Grace has to justify its right to exercise itself by apologising, as it were, to, and squaring its infinite circle with, that same transient Law it had soared away from and left quite dead behind it, like the broken shard of a chrysalis. And as for the Man who had brought far Heaven down to earth for Paul, the Man who had died for Paul and risen again in him, the Man who had made flesh of all such reality as was contained in the old words and dreams, the shadowy precipitations of a fantastic mythology whether it called itself Jewish, Apocalyptic, or Hellenistic Mystery, whose last aim was no other than mere individual self-maintenance and power—why all the gratitude that Paul the theologian could show to Him, if you take him strictly at his own forms of words, was to muffle Him up again in the old burst hulls and wrappings, make a sort of minor god of Him once more, and send Him back to the antique Olympian limbo of ineffectual iridescences that could never drop much rain on the thirsty earth because they had not blood and brains enough in them really to suffer and to die. Had Paul's readers not been helped out by the simple story of the Gospels, it may well be questioned whether the more realistic Asiatics, who were so enthusiastic in making gods of the Caesars—very hard-working gods indeed the best of them were—would not have made a better spiritual bargain than either the mystics of Isis and Attis in that country, or the Seven Churches there which sang hymns to Christ *quasi deo*.

For surely, if you press Paul's theoretical constructions of His person, Jesus becomes as inherently impassible, as incapable of effort and injury, and therefore of any vital give and take in a resisting world as Osiris really was in spite of

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his so-called "death", or as the Son of Man in the Book of Enoch who could not as much as pretend to die. His coming down to earth does not help in the least. That semblance of nearness—*so near and yet so far!*—is only a tantalising aggravation of the real remoteness which it only serves to accentuate. For though He walks about on the surface of the earth, yet in His innermost substance He is quite secure against at least its moral gravitations, hermetically sealed and cased from birth in a panoply of celestial armour against all earth's seductions. There is a gulf no thought can bridge between His "*non potuit peccare*" and our "*non possumus non peccare.*" He came down to earth! Ah, yes, there is the trouble! He came *down* there. He does not like us grow out of earth. He is merely a celestial foreign body stuck into it from above for a while. His roots, as well as his leaves and blossoms, are in the inviolable sky. He might just as well have staid in Heaven so far as we are concerned, in His old rainbow form. He is just as far from us as if He had. Though among us He remains quite outside of us. He is but an Angel after all and, therefore, can meditate nothing but the remote Categorical Imperative Law, where we want the quickening touch of a groping brother's life. He is not bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. His bones are made of diamond not of fragile lime. His flesh is not vulnerable nor capable or soiled even at the heel. He is a man from Mars, not one of us; a millionaire of the Spirit masquerading in beggar's rags with a Fortunatus purse in the pocket, and scattering fairy gold among the real beggars, "like wealthy men who care not how they give" and do not need to care. You will say that in point of fact He was much more than this to Paul. Of course He was, in point of fact. But according to Paul's formulae He had no logical right to be so. In other words, we cannot take our Christology ready made from Paul or any one else. We must work out our own Christology for ourselves. We shall find much in Paul to help us. But we need to supplement him with John, the Epistle to the Hebrews which has priceless hints, and, above all, the Synoptic Gospels.

The fact is, Paul's *heart* belonged to Jesus as few men's ever did, but his *head* had not been baptized quite clean of Gamaliel. He had to justify his new experience before the

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bar of the old theories which had decreed beforehand a formal interdict against it. No wonder his Religion and his Theology are found, when one looks ever so little below the surface, to be living together upon a footing of considerably strained relations. He has a life in him which fortunately attains at times to quite other expressions than the Rabbinical ratiocinations and shreds and patches of mythology, he was forced to borrow in order to fix it for his understanding; a life which not only overflows, but breaks to pieces like old potsherds, the obsolete moulds into which he was obliged to run it. Had there been no evidence of his Master's existence save the passages we have to put together to round out his Christological system, we could not be sure that He had ever lived in this world at all. In fact, we should have had a pretty shrewd guess that He had not, any more than Apollos ever kept Admetus' cows. But there was one fragment of the real Jesus containing all of Him, one remnant of the great fact of His life, quite enough to make us quite certain that He was not merely an ideal figure, to which in spite of all smothering and refracting speculations Paul bears entirely convincing witness, one which touched Paul and kindled him as no ideal figure, no ghost or angel, ever could; as only the God that speaks in one full-bodied, struggling, actual man of real flesh and blood can touch another such reality—I mean His death upon the Cross. After all, Paul's Christ did really die. That was what Paul could not bear in Him at first. It was a tremendous tsumbling-block to him. He died. Therefore He had lived indeed, and could go on living as He did in Paul. This it was which made the infinite difference between Him and all His prefiguring shadows, whether of Apocalypse or Mystery. If Paul seems to send Him back among them, and if you take him at the foot of his letter he certainly does, it is with that immense difference—as well as with this gain that he is thus free to seize the permanent divine element in his Master's earthly career and disentangle it from all its temporal and local accidents and limitations. His Heavenly Christ is, after all, whether before or after the appearance on earth, merely the whole ideal substance of the actual Jesus projected into infinity and seen *sub specie aeternitatis*. Before He ever came to earth He had resigned Himself out of love to empty Himself

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of His glory, and be found in the form of a servant, not thinking it, as most of us do, a thing to be snatched at that He should make Himself equal with God. In short He was Plato's ideal Man, conceived with Jewish massiveness but also earnestness, man as He was meant to be, man in perfect union with and in perfect subordination to God. And when He goes back to Heaven, then, however illogically (for how could such a Being have really died?), He carries His Cross with Him and with it made a new Heaven, and at least the decisive beginnings and all-infolding potencies of a new earth. Henceforth the crucified Christ has opened up to Paul and others a Heaven that can really help, a Heaven from which His living Spirit, changing with inexhaustible flexibility and far more than Protean versatility as men's ever-changing needs and knowledge change, can descend with power and demonstration; just as from His sweet life-fruit, with all the past of Israel and of Greece alive in it, heroic love, the ripe fruit and sole enduring substance of all the ages, growing and broken on that accursed tree of blessing, He had sown in Peter and Paul and John and James and the rest of them the seeds of a new manhood and with it of a re-created earth. The great reconciliations of Paul's experience are after all, for one that has an ear and not a mere logic-chopping machine, accentuated rather than annulled by his dualistic theories. The foreign body chafes them into a brighter flame. The contradiction between the two is the crowning and most piquant instance, just where he is least conscious of it, of the divine power and wisdom he recognized so often elsewhere in his life, that can adumbrate itself even in the perishable forms and refracting mirrors which it is one day destined to disrupt. "Now we see through a glass darkly." Paul's achievement as a mere formal thinker—the part in him which sinks into insignificance beside the man of action, and the lyrist of love and victory over death and strength made perfect in weakness—was a Theology with so much of Jesus in it as to secure its own ultimate explosion and euthanasia.

There are naturally several things in Dr. Morgan's book with which I do not agree. I do not think him quite sound or even quite consistent in his exposition of Paul's view of the Sacraments. I believe his interpretation is exegetically and

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otherwise impossible. Paul did not regard the Sacraments as "ceremonies" but as symbols. And to him as to all antique men, except Aristotle and Jesus (who nowhere shows the sovereign clarity of His intelligence more astonishingly and obviously to any one who knows anything of antiquity than in that whole passage where He says that nothing from without can either defile or cleanse a man), symbols were never altogether cleared of their birth-mark of magic. What in the last resort was Jesus himself to Paul but such a symbol?—the individual example inextricably confused with the pure Idea, Giotto's O as the absolute circle. Besides, to my sense, Dr. Morgan scarcely does justice to the absolutely central and formative position, both in Paul's life and in his reflection, of the Cross. It is somewhat astonishing, too, that he never drops one hint of the colossal revelation of the Cross "placarded up", as Paul says, before all eyes in our own sad world at this very moment. Did not Paul speak of sharing that death? Do not thousands share it now as truly and much more obviously than he did, and shall they not share in the rising again? And to have done with carping, I am not quite satisfied with his coldness to Paul's mysticism. Jesus, it is true, was no Mystic. He was essentially a man of action and a soldier. The best name by far in the New Testament for Him is the Captain of our Salvation. And perhaps the man most to His mind He ever met was the Roman centurion. But Jesus did not work out any theories about Himself. He had neither the time nor the impulse. Yet surely the best account of His last secret is John's, "I and the Father are one." All lovers are mystics and all the great poets nearly from Virgil to Wordsworth. All adequate philosophy too must surely be some kind of monism if it is not to abdicate its *raison d'être*. But listen to this!—"An historical treatment of the Pauline constructions does not prejudge the question of their validity. But one thing it does; it puts us into a position of freedom with regard to them. It is no longer possible to look upon them as truths supernaturally communicated, the proper attitude to which is one of unquestioning submission. It is no longer possible to treat them as the ultimate data of our faith. We can go behind them. We know their source and the facts which through them the Apostle sought to interpret. These

facts are before us today as they were before Paul; and we have the right, nay, the obligation to judge how far the Apostle's interpretations or explanations of them are adequate or tenable." And again to this:—"What in the Epistles of Paul is still vital and creative is not their theology but their religion. It is the faith and love and hope that in almost every page of them come to direct and glowing expression. And the faith and love and hope are not really dependent on the theology. For the revelation through contact with which they are born is not in the last resort any speculative construction but divine reality, above all the great reality of the historical life of Jesus. In the domain of reality or fact it is that revelation lies. What from age to age generate religion are the great realities that meet us in our experience—the mighty universe over against us with its wonders and its splendors, the moral law within, a moral order in human affairs, a kingdom of God developing itself in history and calling us to its service with a high calling, a force of love and truth and self-sacrifice lifting itself up against all mean and selfish striving and authenticating itself as from the burning centre of things, the great personalities in which the spiritual facts and forces find embodiment. Speculative constructions may, in a more or less adequate way, bring the divine reality before us but they can never, without loss, be accepted as a substitute for it. The first come and go, the second abides."

These passages, and there are many others like them, express as clearly as they do beautifully and strongly the spirit of this whole book. It is the spirit of truth and soberness, the one thing most needful for our country and all Anglo-Saxondom at this moment when we can afford no lies. Beside that what do minor things matter that may give a momentary chill, slight traces of a philosophy that I must think, do all I can, feeble and of little faith? The air is good and clear here with a nip of frost that makes the only real misery of stuffiness impossible. The light is evenly diffused and it is the light of morning in which birds can sing. No dim irreligious light in which all cats are grey and bats and vampyres flit about on leathery wings; no twilight of a skulking Apologetic that freezes on to the consecrated untenability doomed to be the next to rot off into the portion of weeds, and outworn faces

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which can no longer save themselves by any pious rouge. A fearless launching out into the deep to steer by the Eternal stars! In a country where Gog and Magog are still going strong on the one hand, and on the other their twin brother Maledictus Ahenostomachus, fat of head and hard of heart, with his Eucharistic processions, how priceless is this book and all it means! I am proud, for my part, to have taught Theology in the same University as Dr. Morgan. Proud, too, that like him I am a son of the dear old Alma Mater in whose old granite crown his book is a new feather, the most austere in her beauty of all the Scottish maids of Helicon, the most solid and precise, I think, the least tolerant of tall talk and pretentious humbug—Aberdeen. “If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget her cunning!”

JOHN MACNAUGHTON.

SIR GEORGE ARTHUR AND HIS ADMINISTRATION OF UPPER CANADA.

THE last Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada before the Union of 1841 was Sir George Arthur. To most Canadians of to-day he is little more than a name, but still he played an important part in the stirring events of our political life fourscore years ago. He lacked the picturesqueness of that extraordinary personage, his predecessor in office, Sir Urancis Bond Head, and he was overshadowed completely by both Lord Durham to Poulett Thomson, better known as Lord Sydenham, who were in succession as Governors-General placed in authority over him. None the less he lives in Canadian history as the man who refused to reprieve Lount and Matthews, and who made common cause with the Family Compact against the Reformers. Although nominally he was Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada from his appointment in 1837 until the Act of Union went into force, his real term of office lasted only a little more than a year and a half, from March 23rd, 1838, until November 22nd, 1839. After that time he was directly subordinate to Sydenham. During that brief period Sir George Arthur proved himself an energetic if not always merciful governor.

It was unfortunate that Arthur come to Upper Canada at a time when Mackenzie's rebellion had just been crushed and when party feeling was still running very high. Sir Francis Bond Head left Toronto on the very day that Sir George Arthur arrived and so the new Lieutenant-Governor was unable to obtain much information from his predecessor. There is reason to believe, none the less, that Sir Francis put in a good word for his old friends the Family Compact and that Arthur from the beginning of his term of office favoured that party. In his first official despatch to Lord Glenelg dated March 29th, 1838, Sir George makes mention of the "large preponderating party looking to the Executive Government to put down treason by energetic measures," as opposed to "the party styling themselves Reformers" who were "hoping for

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the most lenient course." * These phrases, written when Arthur had been only about a week in Upper Canada, stamp the new governor at once as an opponent of reform. If further proof is needed it can readily be found in Arthur's reply to a congratulatory address from seven hundred and fifty citizens of Toronto upon the occasion of his arrival in that city. In that address reference was made to the fact that "in the promotion of public order, and the adoption of measures for the pacification of the country" Arthur would have "the prompt and energetic support of the loyal, patriotic and constitutional reformers of the Province." In his reply Sir George Arthur regretted that "any portion of the inhabitants of this city should have felt it necessary at the moment to present themselves under the character of reformers, as a distinct class of the people of this Province." Such a statement was not likely to secure for Sir George Arthur the whole-hearted support of all the well-disposed citizens of Toronto. The execution of Lount and Matthews further alienated the more moderate men in the Province.

When Sir Francis Head arrived in Toronto he was greeted by placards which designated him as "a Tried Reformer." † When Sir George Arthur was appointed to succeed him the *London Atlas*, on March 3rd, 1838, enquired, "What will the inhabitants of Upper Canada think of the appointment of the Governor of a penal Colony to rule over a province of free-men?" ‡ As a matter of fact, Arthur was an improvement on Head but he was never able to shake off his past traditions or to obtain as Lord Durham and Lord Sydenham did, a real insight into Upper Canadian conditions. Durham, it is true, in his Report is not nearly so successful when he deals with the upper province as when he portrays the miseries of Lower Canada, but he understood the situation there better than Head or Arthur ever did. Sydenham's ideas as to the workings of Responsible Government did not harmonize with those of Lord Elgin, but he never would have argued against it, as Arthur did, on the grounds that it was demanded by the Re-

* Arthur to Glenelg 29 March, 1838.

† Head's Narrative, p. 32.

‡ Canadian Archives, Q 406, Pt. I, p. 175.

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formers. From start to finish of his term of office in Upper Canada Sir George Arthur was unable to forget his experience in British Honduras where he quelled a negro insurrection and in Van Diemen's Land, now Tasmania, where he was called upon to rule a convict settlement. Above all he was a military officer, and as such was none too ready to season justice with mercy. He was the last of that series of Lieutenant-Governors of Upper Canada who were also military officers and he possessed the defects of his qualities. Stern, unbending, narrow-minded, but entirely honest he was totally unable to see his opponent's point of view.

By training Sir George Arthur was a soldier. Before he ever embarked on his administrative career as governor of one colonial dependency after another he had served many years in the army. Born in 1784, the youngest son of John Arthur of Norley House, Plymouth, George Arthur entered the army at the age of twenty. He saw service in Italy, Egypt—where he was wounded at Rosetta in 1807—and also in Sicily in 1808. He took part in the ill-fated Walcheren Expedition of 1809 and seems to have distinguished himself in it, since we read that he was thanked in general orders and also that he received the freedom of the city of London. After being military secretary to Sir George Don, the governor of the island of Jersey, Arthur, in 1812, became a major in the Seventh West India Regiment. We next find him in Jamaica as assistant quartermaster-general of the forces on that island.

In 1814 George Arthur became Lieutenant-Governor of British Honduras "with the rank of colonel on the staff." * This office, which was both civil and military, Arthur held until 1822, during which time he suppressed a serious revolt of the slave population. His despatches on the subject of slavery we are told attracted the attention of the great abolitionist, William Wilberforce. In 1822 Colonel Arthur returned to England on leave of absence in order to furnish the British Government with additional information on the subject of the emancipation of slaves. It was during this stay in England that he was in 1824 appointed Lieutenant-Governor

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of Van Diemen's Land and at the same time commander of the military forces in that penal colony.

For twelve years George Arthur grappled with the terrible conditions existing in that most unfortunate island. The transportation system, one of the worst blots in British colonial history, was then at its height and its evils were only too apparent. The Select Committee on Transportation appointed by the British Parliament in its Report submitted in 1838, having outlined the unspeakable conditions existing at Norfolk Island, goes on to make the following statement regarding Van Diemen's Land:

"Your Committee will not lengthen this report by describing the penal settlements of Van Diemen's Land, where the severity of the system is as great as, if not greater than, that at Norfolk Island, where culprits are as reckless, if not more reckless, committing murder (to use the words of Sir George Arthur) "in order to enjoy the excitement of being sent up to Hobart Town for trial, though aware that in the ordinary course they must be executed within a fortnight after arrival." "†

As Lieutenant-Governor of such a colony Colonel Arthur was called upon to act with firmness and often with severity. His biographer in the Dictionary of National Biography, Sir Alexander John Arbuthnot, K.C.S.I., claims that the object of Arthur's appointment was "the introduction of an improved system" of treatment for the convicts. Arthur sought to adopt "a middle course between the extreme severity of the system which would make transportation simply deterrent and the over-indulgence of the system which aimed at reforming the convict by gentler treatment. He held that it was possible to make transportation a punishment much dreaded by criminals whilst offering every facility for reform to those who were not hardened in crime; but he entertained no quixotic expectations of frequent reformation." ‡ It will be seen from this quotation that Arthur believed in the transportation system in a modified and "improved" form. In this he ran counter to the

†Report of Transportation Committee, 1838. Quoted in Molesworth's *Speeches*, Appendix, p. 465.

‡D. N. B., Article on Sir George Arthur.

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wishes of the colonists who desired that an end be put to the abomination. Arthur's biographer regrets that "the colonists and their friends in England were bent on putting an end to the transportation system and their views ultimately prevailed."

This difference of opinion between Arthur and the colonists furnished W. L. MacKenzie with some of his choicest bits of invective against the new Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. In his *Gazette*, MacKenzie prefaced a long series of excerpts from the newspapers of Van Diemen's Land on the occasion of Arthur's recall with the sarcasm: "Such credentials cannot fail to increase the loyalty of the happy Canadians. O, the blessings of Colonial Dependence!!!" *

These excerpts clearly show that there was a considerable body of colonial opinion in Van Diemen's Land opposed to the policies of Governor Arthur. The following from the Hobart *Town News* may be taken as fairly typical. As a matter of fact it is quite moderate in tone in comparison with some of the other invectives against Arthur.

"It was with feelings of the most sincere satisfaction, we announced in our last number the arrival of the 'good ship' "Elphinstone", from England, bringing the very gratifying intelligence of the recall of Colonel George Arthur after an administration of twelve years; during the whole of which long period the people have been rendered wretched, unhappy, discontented and miserable by the misrule of his government. . . ." †

Of course, no one would look into the pages of MacKenzie's *Gazette* to get a favourable impression of Sir George Arthur, but a perusal of these excerpts shows that the dissatisfaction against Arthur was widespread. The *Launceston Advertiser* states that, "Throughout the whole period of his government the military have been placed in too prominent a position. Lieutenants and Ensigns, fresh from the frolics of Chatham, have been turned into justices of the peace and the whole administration of the colony has been pipe-clayed into a service

*Canadian Archives, Q 406, Pt. I, p. 226.

†Ibid.

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of an amphibious, half-military, half-civil complexion." ‡ The *Colonial Times* quite frankly lays it down that "A worse British Governor never ruled during the present century."* This is strong language, written in the heat of the moment, but when sufficient discount is made for hot temper the fact remains that Sir George Arthur made a number of enemies in Van Diemen's Land.

To a certain extent Arthur was not to blame since he was the victim of circumstances. He was forced by the nature of his office to uphold the abominable system of transportation and his position as commander-in-chief of the military forces on the island made him a military as well as a civil governor of a penal colony. But on the other hand, he was by nature an aristocrat with but little democratic feeling. He mistrusted popular government and he had to keep down a discontented population of whom over one-third were convicts. Sir William Molesworth in his speech on transportation delivered in the British House of Commons on May 5th, 1840,** gives the following statistics culled from Sir George Arthur's despatches from Van Diemen's Land in 1834. "Its population in 1834 did not exceed 40,000, of whom 16,000 were convicts, 1,000 soldiers, and 23,000 free inhabitants; what proportion of the latter had been convicts it is impossible to say. In this small community the summary convictions amounted to about 15,000 in the year in question, amongst which there were about 2,000 for felony, 1,200 for misdemeanour, 700 for assaults, and 3,000 for drunkenness. Eleven thousand of these convictions were of convicts who are summarily punished for all offences to which the penalty of death is not attached." With such a turbulent population to control it is no wonder that Sir George Arthur had but little belief in popular government.

But however great the opposition to Governor Arthur in Van Diemen's Land may have been, the Australian Commonwealth to-day owes him one debt of gratitude. According to his biographer Arbuthnot, Arthur was the first person to sug-

‡Ibid., p. 232.

*Ibid., p. 227.

**Molesworth: *Speeches*, p. 112.

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gest the advisability of a federation of all the Australian colonies. In this he was years in advance of his time. Still it is to be doubted whether any scheme of federation brought forward in Arthur's time could have been so complete and satisfactory as that consummated in 1901.

After his return to England in March, 1837, Colonel Arthur received the Hanoverian Order of Knighthood. At the close of the same year he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada and at the same time given "the military rank and command of a major-general on the staff." Sir George Arthur was now nearly sixty years of age and had been for over twenty-two years a colonial governor. During that period he had wielded almost despotic power. It was not at all likely that he would be inclined to look with favour upon the demands of the Upper Canadian Reformers for "Responsible Government."

On his arrival in Upper Canada Sir George Arthur was faced by a situation of the utmost delicacy. The rashness and wrong-headedness of Sir Francis Bond Head and of William Lyon MacKenzie had brought on the Upper Canadian Rebellion. The skirmish at Montgomery's Tavern occurred on Thursday, December 7th, 1837, and at the close of the day W. L. MacKenzie was a fugitive with a price on his head. The affair of the "Caroline" took place on December 29th. The destruction of this American steamboat resulted in considerable excitement in the United States and relations between the British and American governments became somewhat strained. The arrest and trial of Alexander McLeod on the charge of murdering Amos Durfee, an American citizen, who was killed during the raid on the "Caroline", further complicated the situation. It was not until 1842 that the incident was finally closed by a letter of apology addressed by Sir Robert Peel to Daniel Webster.

Shortly after the destruction of the "Caroline" by the Canadians, MacKenzie's sympathizers, who had seized Navy Island in the Niagara River near the Falls, were forced to abandon their post, and the centre of disturbance shifted westward to the Detroit River. On this frontier an attack was planned by American sympathizers and disaffected Canadians against Fort Madden which was situated sixteen miles from

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Windsor, Ontario. The attempt proved disastrous and resulted in the capture of "General" Theller and other American sympathizers, who were sent to Toronto for trial. On the 3rd of March, 1838, Pelée Island in Lake Erie was captured by another band of invaders who were driven off by a Canadian loyalist force under Colonel Maitland. This was the last serious attempt made from the United States before the arrival in Upper Canada of Sir George Arthur.

The new Lieutenant-Governor then found himself involved in a peculiar international situation. Were these American sympathizers foreigners who were levying open war against the province committed to his charge, or were they merely marauders to be classes as pirates? This problem complicated another question of the utmost and pressing importance which was, in what way were the leaders of the late rebellion to be treated? The Family Compact men and the Tories generally thirsted for their blood. Two of the leaders of MacKenzie's rebellion, Lount and Matthews, were already in prison and were shortly to be put on trial for their lives. The problem which Sir George Arthur had to settle was whether or not the extreme penalty of the law should be exacted.

It was not to be expected that the ex-governor of a penal colony would show much mercy towards these men who had taken up arms against constituted authority. Nor did he. Lount and Matthews pleaded guilty and were on March 29th sentenced to death. The execution was to take place on April 12th. Sir George Arthur had, of course, no part in sentencing them to death. That was done by Chief Justice John Beverley Robinson, who, Kingsford tells us, pronounced sentence "with that felicity of language ever at his command, but its tone was merciless." † Sir John Beverley Robinson's son and biographer, Major-General C. W. Robinson, quotes from the *Law Journal* of Upper Canada for March, 1863, to show that "of the three individuals concerned, the Chief Justice was most certainly the most painfully affected." But whatever his private feelings may have been the Chief Justice was unbending

†Kingsford: *History of Canada*, Vol. X, p. 472.

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in his determination that no mercy be shown. He refused to advise the Lieutenant-Governor that Lount and Matthews be either pardoned or respited.‡ In this opinion of the Chief Justice the Attorney-General, Hagerman, concurred, and although there was great excitement in the province and "petitions signed by not less than 8,000 persons"* were presented, a reprieve was not granted and the two rebel leaders were executed on the day set.

Two days later, on April 14th, Arthur penned a long despatch on the subject to Lord Glenelg. This document shows clearly how completely the new Lieutenant-Governor was in sympathy with the Family Compact and how entirely he failed to understand the point of view of the Reformers.

The despatch professes to deal with the cases of Samuel Lount and Peter Matthews, "with a general view of the course to be taken with respect to persons committed for High Treason." Arthur begins by combatting a statement made by Lord Glenelg in a despatch dated January 6th, 1835, addressed to Sir John Colborne and marked "separate," to the effect that,

"Her Majesty's Government could not fail to notice the wide difference which exists between the circumstances which have taken place in Lower Canada, and the recent events in Upper Canada. So far as can be collected from the information now before me, the chief motive which influenced the instigation of the disturbance in Upper Canada appears to have been the view of plunder, and the offences which they perpetrated, seem to bear comparatively little of a political character."

Lord Glenelg's grasp of the situation in Upper Canada may be inferred from the above passage and Sir George Arthur proceeds to enlighten him. Several sentences from his despatch deserve quoting in full, since they show how readily Sir George Arthur had embraced the Tory point of view.

"In Upper Canada, the same pretensions to patriotism—the same assertions of republican Principles—the same accusations against the Government of Tyranny and Corruption—were put forth as the ground and justification of the Rebellion

‡Cf. Arthur to Glenelg, April 14th, 1838, Canadian Archives G, 494.

*Ibid.

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as in the Lower Province. In Lower Canada, the right was insisted on, of the popular Branch of the Legislature sullenly to refuse acting as a legislative Body, and to bring to a complete stop all beneficial operations of Government, and to assert a supremacy inconsistent with the relations of a Colony with the parent state.

"In Upper Canada arms were taken up with the avowed purpose of assisting the Lower Canadians, and of asserting the same principles as applicable to this Colony. In Upper Canada the majority of the Assembly were attached to British Institutions; but this Majority was asserted to have been brought about by unconstitutional means on the part of Government, and the use which the revolutionary Party had made of a majority in Parliament when they had it, was precisely the same here as in Lower Canada: namely, to coerce the Government by a refusal to grant the necessary supplies. The Revolutionists in neither province hoped by themselves to overthrow the Government. They alike solicited foreign aid, and by its means expected to accomplish those designs. . . ."

It may easily be seen from the above quotation that Sir George Arthur misunderstood the political situation in both Upper and Lower Canada. He failed entirely to appreciate the aims of the Reformers and considered them a grave menace to the security of British rule in Canada. So imbued was he with the point of view of what he terms the "Constitutional Party" that he believed the rebel leaders, including Lount and Matthews, had proved "not only that they were determined, with their own hands, to execute the foulest deeds in furtherance of their project of subverting the Government; but they had encouraged a class of dissolute and vagrant Foreigners to join in their enterprise, who, they well knew, would not hesitate to inflict upon the inhabitants of this Province, if they could have subjugated them, the most barbarous atrocities."†

Under such circumstances, if the British connexion was to be preserved and law and order firmly re-established, it was necessary, Arthur considered, that several public examples should be made. Lount and Matthews had pleaded guilty of the heinous crime of rebellion against authority and were con-

†Arthur to Glenelg: April 14th, 1838.

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victed of high treason. The penalty was death and it made no difference to Sir George Arthur whether eight thousand or thirty thousand‡ persons signed petitions for their reprieve. He could not understand that Lount and Matthews were in the eyes of a very large section of the province merely political prisoners who had been unfortunate enough to appeal to arms and be defeated by their opponents of the Tory party. The fact that the Lieutenant-Governor and the Executive Council were adherents of this Tory party did not, in itself, mean that Lount and Matthews were traitors. High treason is a very serious thing and so is armed rebellion, but the skirmish at Montgomery's Tavern could hardly be called a battle and there had been great provocation.

In refusing to reprieve Lount and Matthews or even to postpone their execution until he had had an opportunity to confer with the Colonial Office, Sir George Arthur made the chief blunder of his career as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. To be sure he acted in complete harmony with his Executive Council, whose advice he took in the matter, but he did not understand the real feeling of the province. It is doubtful whether any but the most rabid Tories favoured the exaction of the death penalty. The ends of justice could have been secured either by transportation or banishment. Nor did the Colonial Office entirely favour the executions of these men. On May 22nd Lord Glenelg wrote to Arthur as follows:

"I have received your despatch of the 29th March, No. 1, reporting your proceedings up to that date, and the measures which you proposed to adopt with reference to the militia and volunteers, and stating that two of the most active of the persons engaged in the late revolt, having been brought to trial, had pleaded guilty and been sentenced to death, and assuring me that the most merciful consideration would be shown towards the prisoners generally.

"I have laid your despatch before the Queen, and have to convey to you Her Majesty's approbation of the proceedings which you have reported. Since the receipt, indeed, of your despatch, intelligence has appeared in the public papers of the

‡Both numbers are given—the higher number, 30,000, by MacKenzie.

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execution at Toronto of Messrs. Lount and Matthews, the individuals, as I presume, alluded to in your despatch.

"I have every confidence that before consenting to such a means, you devoted to the cases of these persons a calm and dispassionate consideration, but as I have hitherto received from you no report of these executions or of the grounds on which you decided to let the law take its course, I abstain for the present from any further comment on them.

"I am happy to learn, through the same channel of information, that no further executions were likely to take place." *

Eight days later, on May 30th, 1838, after receiving Sir George Arthur's despatch of the 14th of April, Lord Glenelg again alluded to the execution and this time one feels that, in his own mild way, the Colonial Secretary is seeking to restrain Arthur:

"I have received your despatch of the 14th April last (No. 4), reporting the executions, on the 12th of that month, of Lount and Matthews, who had been convicted, on their own confession, of 'high treason,' and explaining, at considerable length, the views adopted by yourself and the Executive Council with regard to these prisoners, and the considerations which appeared to you imperatively to demand that the law in the case should be allowed to take its course.

"Her Majesty's Government regret extremely that a paramount necessity should have arisen for these examples of severity. They are, however, fully convinced that you did not consent to the execution of these individuals without having given the most ample consideration to all the circumstances of the case, and they have no reason to doubt the necessity of the course which, with the entire concurrence of the Executive Council, you felt it your duty to adopt."†

The Colonial Secretary did not censure Arthur for his conduct in the matter of the execution of Lount and Matthews but he added a significant paragraph regarding the treatment of other political prisoners.

*Glenelg to Arthur, No. 70, 22 May, 1838; Brit. Parl. paper, 2, 1839, p. 279.

†Glenelg to Arthur, No. 82, 30th May, 1838; op. cit. pp. 279-80.

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"With respect to the disposal of the other prisoners, Her Majesty's Government cannot give you any specific instructions, until they shall have received the report which you lead me to expect. But I cannot defer expressing our earnest hope that, with respect to these persons, your opinion that no further capital punishments will be necessary, may be acted on. Nothing would cause Her Majesty's Government more sincere regret than an unnecessary recourse to the punishment of death, and I am persuaded that the same feeling will influence not only yourself, but the Executive Council. The examples which have been made in the case of the most guilty will be sufficient to warn others of the consequences to which they render themselves liable by such crimes, and this object having been accomplished, no further advantage could be gained by inflict the extreme penalty of the law on any of their associates." ‡

The death of Lount and Matthews seems to have satisfied the desire for revenge on the part of the extremists and a milder course of policy was then pursued by the Lieutenant-Governor and Executive Council. Several other leaders including "Generals" Sutherland and Theller, both of whom were American citizens, were sentenced to transportation. Theller had been sentenced to death and, according to his own account, was only saved from the gallows by the energetic agitation in his favour of the Irish section of the population. He has left a voluminous account of his captivity, including his sensational escape from the Citadel of Quebec, in his book, *Canada in 1837-8*, to which the reader is referred if he wishes to obtain a very highly-coloured bit of autobiography.*

Theller's case brought up a very interesting question of International Law. He had been born in Ireland and had become naturalized as an American citizen. When put on trial for his life on a charge of high treason Theller pleaded that his American naturalization had rendered him no longer a British subject. Against him a precedent of 1747 was quoted to support the doctrine of "perpetual allegiance," i.e. "once a British subject, always a British subject." The jury brought

‡Ibid.

*E. A. Theller, *Canada in 1837-8*, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1841.

in the curious verdict that "if the prisoner was a British subject he was guilty of treason." Chief Justice Robinson, acting in accordance with his belief in the doctrine of 'perpetual allegiance' ruled that Theller was still a British subject and thereupon sentenced him to death. Under the circumstances to carry out the death sentence would have been very inadvisable. Pressure was brought to bear upon the Lieutenant-Governor and the Executive Council, and as a result a respite was granted "until Her Majesty's pleasure should be known." † Theller was soon after removed from Toronto to Quebec and detained there in the Citadel, from which he escaped. Sutherland was tried by court martial, imprisoned in Toronto and Quebec, and finally returned to American soil.

These American prisoners were very embarrassing to the Upper Canadian authorities. There was still considerable excitement along the American frontier and the danger of invasion was by no means over. Lount and Matthews were considered martyrs by many on the American side of the border. Highly coloured accounts of the execution appeared in the American press. Even the *New York Sun* took up the matter and recounted how Mrs. Lount on the day previous to her husband's execution "pleaded with Governor Arthur for hours for his life, and when she pointed to *thirty thousand names* who petitioned with her for the exercise of the royal prerogative, he coldly replied 'that he had not believed that Mr. Lount had so many friends in the province, and that there was the more necessity that he should be made an example to the rest.'" ‡ Under these circumstances the execution of Theller would have added oil to the flame.

The Congress of the United States passed a "Neutrality Bill" which cleared up the situation a great deal by denying official sanction to any schemes of invasion and enjoining neutrality on all American citizens. The state authorities along the frontier also tried to prevent any movement of armed forces against Canada. Theller records how he successfully dodged the American authorities in making his attack on Fort Madden and how Governor Mason of Michigan was com-

†Theller, *Canada in 1837-8*, Vol. I, p. 261.

‡Canadian Archives, Q 406, Pt. I, pp. 177-8.

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ing down the river with a strong force when Theller and his friends approached the island of Bois Blanc which lies in Canadian waters. No doubt there often was a certain amount of laxity on the part of the American authorities, and Sir George Arthur finds occasion to condemn it at times, but the United States Government seems on the whole to have acted very wisely. The burning of the "Caroline," which it should be remembered was an American vessel attacked by a Canadian force in American waters, might easily have led to very serious consequences. If President Van Buren and his cabinet had wanted war it would have been quite possible to claim the destruction of the ill-fated "Caroline" as an overt act of hostility. Fortunately milder counsels prevailed and war was avoided. But this incident profoundly affected and prolonged the agitation on the American side of the border.

On April 23rd, 1838, an "authorized agent" of the United States Government, Mr. Aaron Vail, who had recently been Chargé d'Affaires in the American Embassy in London, arrived at Toronto. Mr. Vail, according to the official despatch of the British ambassador at Washington, Mr. H. S. Fox, was charged with the task "of inquiring into, and reporting upon, the actual condition of various individuals, who are now in confinement in Canada." Mr. Fox considered Mr. Vail a very fitting envoy and that his mission would be beneficial "by dissipating false rumours which tend to keep alive feelings of ill-will between the British and American inhabitants on the Canadian frontier."

Aaron Vail's mission seems to have fulfilled expectations, for on April 25th Arthur wrote to Fox that it was quite impossible that a more proper person than Mr. Vail could have been selected by the President, and that he trusted all the benefit would result from his mission as Fox had anticipated. Vail does not seem to have formed a very high opinion of the American prisoners, whom he described as "the 'scum' of the population." * Theller has left us an amusing account of how the Toronto gaol was carefully scrubbed in honour of Vail's visit and how the prison authorities hinted that "the Americans had better clean and dress up, as they might expect to

*Arthur to Glenelg, 24 April, 1838, No. 8.

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see some visitors, and probably hear some good news." † The prisoners poured out their tale of woe to Vail who "took notes and assured us that the government of the United States would strictly inquire into the matter." ‡ Nothing much, however, seems to have resulted from the inquiry, since it was evident that Vail's mission was to smooth over affairs rather than to stir up further strife by issuing an inflammatory report on Canadian conditions.

Soon after the departure of Mr. Vail occurred the trial and conviction of Charles Durand. Durand's case was peculiar, and noteworthy as illustrating the methods employed by Arthur and his Executive Council to stamp out disaffection. Durand was put on trial for high treason, the chief evidence against him being a letter which was found in his house among his papers addressed to W. L. MacKenzie, and which contained within it charges against the Executive Council and Family Compact generally. This letter was never sent and MacKenzie in his *Gazette* denies ever having seen it. It was, therefore, a high handed proceeding to sentence a man to death on the evidence of a private paper which was never published. Durand was afterwards respited and banished to the United States, but his trial and conviction on the 7th of May did not tend to increase the popularity of the Lieutenant-Governor and his Executive Council.

Durand's letter certainly was written in no mild tone and it still breathes forth the spirit of disaffection. But it was never published and as such should not have been used to convict its author. The following sentences will serve as a sample of the whole:

"The principles of the reformers are those of truth, are those that tend to promote the happiness of the many—instead of the few. Although in common with thousands of the old farmers in Canada, with thousands of the sons of U. E. Loyalists, I was willing to petition the mother country for the redress of our political wrongs, and even to petition them again and again, yet when I see insult upon insult heaped upon the reformers of this Province: our Governors allowed with im-

†Theller, Canada in 1837-8, Vol. 2, p. 9.

‡Ibid., p. 10.

punity to slander and laugh at the people and their House of Assembly—when I see Governors who have held up with both hands the gracious despatches of the deceitful and tyrannical Colonial Office—conspiring against the liberties of this colony by establishing a ‘Dominant Church’ and ‘English Church Rectories’ amongst us against our will and desire, *raised, promoted and applauded* for deceiving the people here, when I see Judges suspended and dismissed from their offices for voting for liberal men and the *elective franchise*, the only spark of liberty we can boast of, trampled down by office holders, and done away with by the Governor issuing thousands of patent deeds to his favorites and officials, I begin to ask myself, shall I, shall we, who have made the country what it is, be used thus with impunity? Shall we, the native Canadians, the sons of U. E. Loyalists, be called aliens in the land of our birth, and by the fluttering officials that hang on the smiles of a Governor’s brow—I say nay. I feel that we are too tame—that we have forgotten that we are free—that we are in America,” * etc. etc.

There is no need to quote more of this verbiage. The above is sufficient to show that Durand was able to “tear a passion to tatters, to very rags,” and if he had ever had this letter published it would have doubtless “split the ears of the groundlings.” The curious thing is that a man should be condemned to death for writing such a letter. Truly Arthur and his Executive Council lacked a sense of humour!

About this time a new movement against Canada was on foot in the United States. “Hunters’ Lodges” were formed with the object “never to rest, till all tyrants of Britain cease to have any dominion or footing whatever in North America.”† This new organization seems to have originated in May, 1838, and to have spread rapidly, especially through the states bordering on Upper Canada. Lindsay tells us that at a convention of the Hunters’ Lodges of Ohio and Michigan held at Cleveland from September 16th to 22nd‡ of that year, seventy

*Can. Archives, Q. 406, Pt. I, pp. 166-7.

†Quoted: Kingsford, X, p. 457.

‡Lindsay: *Life of W. L. MacKenzie* (Makers of Canada Series), p. 440, gives the month as September; Kingsford gives December.

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delegates were present. At this meeting a republican government was appointed for Upper Canada, including a president and complete cabinet. A "republican bank of Upper Canada" was projected which was to issue a paper currency adorned with the heads of Lount, Matthews and Moreau who took part in the Short Hills affair in June, 1838, to which reference will shortly be made. But the members of the "Hunters' Lodges" though full of enthusiasm were short of funds, so the bank did not prosper.

Before this grandiloquent meeting at Cleveland there had been several disturbances along the border. The first of these was the destruction on May 30th, of the Canadian passenger steamer "Sir Robert Peel" at Wells' Island by American sympathizers. Wells' Island, one of the Thousand Islands, is situated in American waters and so the authorities of New York state were to a certain extent negligent in allowing the incident to occur. The destruction of the "Sir Robert Peel" seems to have been regarded by the "patriots" who boarded her as an act of revenge for the burning of the "Caroline." But whatever the motives of those concerned the incident caused bad feeling along the border. An American steamer, the "Telegraph," was fired upon on June 2nd by the Canadian sentries at Brockville, the excuse given that the "Telegraph" had not answered when hailed by the sentries. An investigation was held at which the authorities of St. Lawrence County, N.Y., were present, and it was ascertained that the sentries had acted without orders.

A few days after these incidents a body of "patriots" under the leadership of James Moreau crossed the Niagara frontier in order to free Upper Canada. Moreau, who is called Morrow in the Canadian records, issued a proclamation which called upon the Canadians to come to his assistance and proclaimed that this was the hour of their redemption. The answer of the "oppressed Canadians" was the engagement fought at the Short Hills on June 21st when the "patriots" were defeated by the Canadian militia. Moreau fled with a price on his head but was captured, tried and condemned to death. The Executive Council on July 26th refused to reprieve him since he was considered a proper case for capital punishment under an Act of the Parliament of Upper Canada passed

the previous session in order "to protect the Inhabitants of this Province against lawless aggressions from Subjects of Foreign Countries at Peace with Her Majesty." Moreau was accordingly executed at Niagara on July 30th. If Sir George Arthur had had his way there would have been more executions, but Lord Durham intervened.

The next serious outbreak on the frontier was the attack of von Schoultz near Prescott on November 11th. The invaders seized a point of land on which a stone windmill had been built and fortified the place. An engagement ensued and the invaders were driven back to shelter within the windmill. On the 14th of November British reinforcements, including artillery, arrived, and two days later an attack was made at the distance of only 400 yards. The garrison of the windmill then surrendered and nearly 160 prisoners were taken.* Von Schoultz and nine others were executed in Kingston. Von Schoultz was defended by Sir John A. Macdonald, then a young barrister just beginning his profession, but there was little that could be said in his defence.

The last movement against Upper Canada took place on December 4th, when an attack was made on Windsor. This affair is thus described in the District General Orders of December 10th, dated at Toronto:†

"A large body of pirates and brigands, belonging to the hostile combination in the neighbouring country which has of late so much disturbed the peace of this province, after assembling in the neighbourhood of Detroit, and showing themselves at different points in the vicinity, at length had the hardihood to effect a landing near Windsor, about three miles from Sandwich, on the morning of the 4th instant, where they commenced their work of destruction by burning a steam-boat called the "Thames," and a house used as a barrack, making prisoners a small but gallant party of militia quartered therein, who, in defending themselves against the attacking banditti shot their leader and eventually effected their escape."

At Sandwich, Colonel Prince gathered a force of local militia, made "a spirited attack" and put the invaders to flight.

*Arthur to Glenelg, 24th November, 1838, No. 92.

†Parl. Paper, 2, 1839, p. 370.

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Four prisoners who had been taken were shot by orders of Colonel Prince, whose action was afterward severely censured by Lord Brougham and others. After the action at Sandwich the rest of the invaders either recrossed to American territory or else took to the woods, where many perished from the cold. So ended the last attempt at invasion of Upper Canada. Seven of those captured at Windsor were executed at London, including Daniel Davis Bedford and Albert Clark. The cases of these two men were discussed at two separate meetings of the Executive Council and it was decided that each of them should suffer the death penalty. In these decisions Sir George Arthur entirely concurred. The ex-governor of the penal colony was still exacting vengeance. In his defence it should be stated that the loyal section of the province, including the Executive Council, considered these men filibusters and murderers.

The treatment meted out by the Executive Council to those British subjects, American citizens and others who were taken in arms against the government of Upper Canada has been discussed at some length. This has been done for two reasons, first that it bulks so large in Sir George Arthur's official despatches, and second because it shows what complete harmony existed between Sir George and his Executive Council. Not even Sir Francis Head was more devoted to the Family Compact party. Sir George Arthur was by temperament and training entirely on the side of established authority and opposed to disaffection in all its forms. A strong conservative, he mistrusted the rule of the people and, therefore, opposed as stubbornly as possible the popular demand for Responsible Government. In this, as in other respects, Arthur found himself completely at variance with the Governor-General, the Earl of Durham.

It was unfortunate for Arthur that he was in Upper Canada during a period of unrest and transition. It was even more unfortunate for him that he was brought into contact with Lord Durham. Durham was a man of vision who sketched out a mighty scheme which took years to put into actual practice. Arthur was a man of routine who could not appreciate either Durham or his visions. Above all he mistrusted

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that pet project of Lord Durham, Responsible Government, and did not hesitate to say so.

The appointment of the Earl of Durham as Governor-General of the British North American provinces was deeply resented by Sir George Arthur. By virtue of his commission Durham was empowered to assume the government of the province in which he might be and to retain it during his residence in that province. During that period the functions of the Lieutenant-Governor were to be altogether suspended.† Due notice of this fact was sent each of the Lieutenant-Governors of the British North American provinces including, of course, Sir George Arthur. After receiving this notice Sir George wrote on June 5th, 1838, to Lord Glenelg, complaining of this arrangement. He based his case against it on his experience in Van Diemen's Land, which was during his tenure of office there a dependency of New South Wales, and called to Lord Glenelg remembrance a conversation he had had with him on the subject. In fact, as Arthur reminds Glenelg, the terms on which he consented to become Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada were that no change of that sort would be made.

Three days after writing thus to Lord Glenelg Sir George Arthur received a circular letter from Lord Durham requesting him "to enter into the most free and confidential communication . . . on all subjects affecting the province of Upper Canada, both as regards its internal condition and the state of affairs on the frontiers." * Lord Durham included in this letter the following paragraphs in order to allay the suspicion that might exist in Arthur's mind that he wished to diminish the Lieutenant-Governor's authority,

"Your Excellency will of course understand that this request does not contemplate any interference with your administration of the government, but refers to the necessity which exists that I, as Governor-General of all the North American provinces, should be immediately informed of all matters of general interest affecting the high and important mission which has been conferred upon me.

†Cf. Glenelg to Durham, April 3rd, 1838, No. 8, Parl. paper 2, p. 12.

*Durham to Arthur, 1 June, 1838; No. 1. Parl. paper, 2, p. 109.

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"It will be my duty as well as my inclination to uphold your authority, not only from the respect which I must entertain for you personally, but from a due regard to the efficiency of the public service."

This circular must have mollified Arthur somewhat, or else he was too well trained a public servant to show his innermost feelings. At any rate he writes to Durham on June 9th as follows,

"I sincerely thank your Lordship for your very kind declaration of confidence in me and for the determination which your Lordship has expressed of upholding my authority.

"It is peculiarly gratifying to me to receive these assurances from your Lordship, for I ought in candour to say that from the time I received Lord Glenelg's 'Circular,' I have been very apprehensive of the embarrassment which might arise out of the new relative position in which I found myself most unexpectedly placed. The immeasurable distinction between your Lordship's station and my own must satisfy your Lordship that this has proceeded from no vain jealousy, on personal grounds, of the control of a superior. With diminished influence I feared the ability of being useful to Her Majesty's Government and to this province would be taken away; for I have to co-operate with a legislature which must have a reasonable degree of confidence of my powers to act in union with them, and to fulfil my professions.†"

To this rather naïve letter Durham on June 18th replied stating even more clearly that no act of his would diminish Arthur's influence and authority in Upper Canada. He goes on to put his case as follows,

"I repeat to you, that I have no wish to interfere with the local administration of the affairs of any of the provinces included in my general government.

"Those functions will be vested, as before, in the Lieutenant-Governors; but it is essential to the success of my mission, and to the due execution of my duties, more especially in the present disturbed state of our relations with the frontier population of the United States, that I should be promptly and

†Arthur to Durham, June 9th, No. 1, Parl. paper 2, p. 116.

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directly made acquainted with all events bearing on those important questions."

Arthur seems to have followed out Durham's instructions as regards frontier troubles to the letter, since we find the following postscript added to his despatch of June 22nd, 1838 (No. 4) :

"P.S. I make now no communications myself to the American Government, and have troubled your Lordship with all these particulars, as a representation will of course come with far greater force from your Lordship."‡

In July, 1838, Lord Durham made a flying visit to Upper Canada. His object seems to have been to ascertain for himself existing conditions in this province and to form his own opinion as to what policy it would be best to pursue. He writes thus to Lord Glenelg from Montreal on July 6th :

"Lower Canada is perfectly free from internal troubles, and her frontier is not menaced by the Americans ; but Upper Canada, by the last accounts from Sir George Arthur, is in a very unsatisfactory state, both as to domestic dissensions and border incursions. I am anxious, therefore, to proceed there as soon as possible." *

Lord Durham left Montreal on July 10th, arrived in Kingston late on the night of the 11th, and then proceeded to Niagara. At Niagara Sir George Arthur met him. From Niagara Lord Durham journeyed to Toronto where Sir George was also present to receive him formally, along with the mayor and corporation and the citizens of the provincial capital. On the 19th of July Durham returned to Kingston and thence down the St. Lawrence to Montreal where he arrived on July 24th. His visit to Upper Canada had been short but he had covered a great deal of territory and seems to have been pleased with what he saw.

If one of Lord Durham's objects in making his hurried trip to Upper Canada was to obtain a better understanding with Sir George Arthur he must have been disappointed since shortly after his return to Lower Canada their relations became somewhat strained. The reason for this was the action

‡P.P. 2, p. 125.

*Durham to Glenelg, No. 24, P. P. 2, p. 139.

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of Sir George Arthur and his Executive Council in sentencing to death Samuel Chandler and Benjamin Waite for their part in the Short Hills affair. The families of these men had appealed to Durham "for an extension of the Royal mercy" and "for the grant to them of Her Majesty's pardon.**" Durham asked Arthur for particulars, reminding him that Lord Glenelg had written on the 3rd of April asking that "the utmost lenity, compatible with public safety, should be exercised towards the insurgents."

To this Sir George Arthur replied on August 20th, complaining that Durham's action was "depriving the officer administering the Government of Upper Canada of the powers expressly vested in him by the Royal Commission." † Arthur also claimed that Durham "had misapprehended the intention of the instruction of the Secretary of State" and Lord Glenelg had in a despatch of July 12th referred him "to the power of pardoning for treason vested in the officers administering this government under your Lordship's commission as Governor-in-Chief."

Durham in his turn maintained that all he wished was to exercise the superintending authority he possessed as Governor-General. He admitted that Arthur had the power of pardoning for treason delegated to him, but would argue that that power was exempt from "the general subordination to instructions from the Governor-General." ‡ Durham then proceeds to give his opinion of Sir George Arthur's policy in the following terms.

"Your Excellency's explanation of the policy which you had determined on adopting with regard to the prisoners convicted at Niagara does not immediately strike me as indicating a course so obviously correct that I can dispense with the information which I required in my despatch of the 16th instant. I cannot quite admit the propriety of selecting some one subject of Her Majesty to share the fate of Morreau, the leader of the expedition, who happened to be a citizen of the United States. The fate of Her Majesty's subjects should be

**Durham to Arthur, 16 May, 1838, pp. 2, p. 163.

†Ibid., Arthur to Durham, 20th Aug., 1838.

‡Durham to Arthur, Aug. 24th, 1838; Ibid., p. 164.

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determined on a view of their own conduct, and of the circumstances which have led the juries to accompany their verdict of guilty, in every case, with a recommendation to mercy."

A further despatch of Lord Durham to Arthur on September 18th went into the case of Jacob Beamer in some detail. Beamer had been singled out by the Executive Council as the scape goat and was alone to suffer the death penalty. To this Durham would not agree but requested that the case be referred to Lord Glenelg. This despatch is interesting since it shows that the Executive Council of Upper Canada was at this time none too friendly towards Lord Durham and was quite willing to stir up strife between the Governor-General and the Lieutenant-Governor.

In the meantime the correspondence between Arthur and Durham had continued at some length and not always with the best of feeling. But no actual breach seems to have occurred and at length the vexed problem of the political prisoners seemed likely of solution. A general amnesty was to be proclaimed for all except a certain few who were to be named in the proclamation. But by this time Lord Durham was preparing to return to England.

Among the despatches sent by Sir George Arthur to the Earl of Durham is one dated July 9th, 1838, which deals with the political condition of Upper Canada. This letter establishes without a doubt the close adherence of Sir George Arthur to the Family Compact party, all the more so because Sir George tries to claim his independence of all party affiliations. It also shows that the Lieutenant-Governor had received instructions from the Home Government "to pursue the policy and measures of Sir Francis Head." This Arthur apparently had attempted to do in so far as his support of the dominant party in the province was concerned. He had fallen in completely with their way of thinking and had failed to distinguish between reformers and rebels. He even warned Lord Sydenham that Dr. Egerton Ryerson was "a dangerous man" chiefly because Ryerson supported Mr. Bidwell, who had been Speaker of the Legislative Assembly and had been forced to leave the province on account of persecution by Sir Francis Head and his Executive Council after MacKenzie's Rebellion.

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In this letter of July 9th Sir George Arthur attempts to combat the opinions of Mr. Isaac Buchanan, a reformer, who had been presenting his views on the Upper Canadian political situation to Lord Durham. According to Arthur, Mr. Buchanan was endeavouring to prejudice Durham's mind "against some of the most respectable and most highly esteemed men in the province," and the Lieutenant-Governor hastened to defend his friends. One or two sentences from this despatch deserve quotation as showing Arthur's attitude towards the self-constituted aristocracy of Upper Canada.

"In this Colony, as in other countries, respectable station, united with superior talents and good conduct, gives a certain degree of influence which is natural and salutary, and it would be of all things ungracious and discouraging, as well as impolitic, if the Government were to manifest a jealousy of an influence so honorably acquired. It is, so far as I have been able to judge, most unobtrusively exercised and I am satisfied, from what I have experienced, that so far as he can conscientiously do so, your Lordship will have the most cordial co-operation of the Chief Justice and of all the Family Compact, in all its ramifications throughout the Province." *

In this same despatch Arthur informs Durham that he had "amicably discussed with the Leaders of each Denomination, the long contested Clergy Reserves Question," and had the intention of "bringing in a Bill to reinvest those lands in the Crown "if better means could not be found of providing a settlement. He also thought that he would be able to carry any measure he desired successfully through the Provincial Parliament. It should be remembered that the ultra-tory assembly of 1836, at whose elections Sir Francis Head so distinguished himself, was still in existence and that Sir George Arthur thought that it would pass any measure brought forward by the government. Already on a previous occasion Sir George had written to the Governor-General on the same subject of the Clergy Reserves and had expressed a hope that asperities had been already softened and that at the next meeting of the Legislature he would be able to see this long-pending contest terminated upon nearly the same principle as

* Arthur to Durham, July 9th, 1838, Can. Archives, G. 494, p. 507.

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it had been settled in Van Diemen's Land during his administration there. But in this pious hope Arthur reckoned without the opposition of the Reformers.

The aim of Sir George Arthur and the Executive Council was "to secure the removal of the Clergy Reserves question from the hostile arena of the Upper Canada Legislature to the friendly atmosphere of the English House of Commons, and the still more friendly tribunal of the House of Lords—where the bench of bishops would be sure to defend the claims of the Church to their royal patrimony." † This project the Reformers and opponents of the Clergy Reserves were determined to resist to the uttermost. A long controversy raged during 1838 and 1839. In December, 1837, a bill had been brought forward to reinvest the Reserves in the Crown, but a despatch from the Home Government which arrived soon after showed that the British Parliamentary authorities had no desire to interfere in the settlement of this vexed question. During 1838 Sir George Arthur still hoped that the scheme for reinvesting the Clergy Reserves in the Crown would carry as the references in his despatches, cited above, show. Such a bill would have suited the members of the Executive Council and Family Compact generally. It would have meant that the Church of England would have still profited at the expense of the other denominations. As it was, in 1837 out of a total of £10,852 11s 8d the Church of England received £7,291 5s 0d, the Church of Scotland £1,425, the United Synod of Upper Canada £636 6s 8d, and the Roman Catholic clergy £1,000.‡ The Wesleyan Methodists and other denominations did not receive one penny from the "one-seventh of all Crown lands set aside for the support of a Protestant clergy."

Upon the reassembling of the Upper Canadian Legislature in February, 1839, Sir George Arthur stated that "the settlement of this vitally important question ought not to be longer delayed" and hoped that the contending parties could be amicably adjusted, but added meaningly that if all their efforts failed it would only remain to reinvest the Reserves in

†Ryerson: *Story of My Life*, p. 225.

‡These figures are taken from a return to be found in the Canadian Archives, Q. 407, Pt. I, pp. 108-13.

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the hands of the Crown. Various bills on the subject were introduced and finally the Legislative Council amended one sent to it by the Assembly in such a way as to put complete control of the Clergy Reserves in the hands of the Imperial Parliament. This bill as amended was passed in the Assembly in a thin house by a majority of one. Sir George Arthur and his party had triumphed by a narrow margin. But the royal assent was never given to the bill owing to an objection raised in England that the Upper Canadian Legislature, being a subordinate authority, could not make such a delegation to the Imperial Parliament.

A compromise bill which was devised to meet the approval of the majority of people in Upper Canada was submitted to the House of Assembly in January, 1840, but it was the work not of Sir George Arthur, but of Lord Durham's successor, Mr. Poulett Thomson (Lord Sydenham). It provided that the remainder of the land should be sold and that the annual proceeds of the fund, when realized, be distributed one half to the Church of England and the Presbyterians and one half to the other denominations who wished to share it. This bill was passed in Upper Canada and sent to England where it met its death blow in the House of Lords. The vexatious Clergy Reserves problem still remained unsettled.

In the matter of the Clergy Reserves, Sir George Arthur had shown himself the uncompromising ally of the Family Compact. He was to show it once more in his attitude towards the reunion of the provinces and the introduction of Responsible Government.

The reunion of the provinces was urged by Lord Durham in his Report and was favoured by a large majority of the inhabitants of Upper Canada. It was opposed by the Family Compact, supported as usual by Sir George Arthur. But the feeling for union was so strong that on March 23rd, 1839, three resolutions in favour of the reunion of the provinces were carried by the Upper Canadian Legislature. Four days later, on March 27th, fourteen qualifying resolutions were passed by the Assembly. These resolutions, if embodied in the Act of Union, would have placed the balance of power in the hands of the British population of the united province.

A committee of the Legislative Council was appointed at

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the same time to inquire into Lord Durham's Report and to put forward their side of the case. This was very ably done in a document dated May 11th, 1839, and approved by the Legislative Council. In this report on the Report Lord Durham's "great panacea for all political disorders 'Responsible Government' " * was attacked and certain inaccurate statements were challenged. The blame for the recent troubles in Upper Canada was cast entirely upon the Reformers and the question propounded: "Is it because reformers, or a portion of them, can command the sympathies of the United States, and of Lower Canadian rebels, that the internal affairs of a British colony must be conducted so as to please them?"

With these sentiments Sir George Arthur heartily concurred. He was entirely opposed to "Responsible Government" and still feared disaffection in the provinces. During the early months of 1839 the trials of the political prisoners had continued and had attracted much attention on both sides of the border. There was still considerable excitement in the province and riots occurred in some places. In one of these which took place at Stone's Tavern, Percy Township, Northumberland County, on June 5th, 1839, the reformers carried "a red flag on which were written or printed the words, 'Lord Durham and Reform.' " † Incidents such as this increased Sir George Arthur's mistrust of Lord Durham's schemes for the better government of Canada, and on July 2nd we find him writing to the Marquis of Normanby, Lord Glenelg's successor, as follows:

"I have all along informed Her Majesty's Government that it is absurd to think of Upper Canada as containing a whole community of loyalists. There is a considerable section of persons who are disloyal to the core; reform is on their lips, but separation is in their hearts. These men having, for the last two or three years, made a "responsible government" their watchword, are now extravagantly elated because the Earl of Durham has recommended that measure.

"They regard it as an unerring means to get rid of all British connexion, while the Earl of Durham, on the contrary,

*Egerton and Grant: Canadian Constitutional Development, p. 176.

†Parl. papers (Canada), 1840, Pt. II, p. 142.

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has recommended it as a measure for cementing the existing bond of union with the mother country."

These few sentences throw great light on Sir George Arthur's attitude on the question of 'Responsible Government.' As usual, the Reformers are annexationists. It was the usual tactics of the dominant party to call them so and to include as disloyal all those who favoured the cause of Reform. Of course Sir George Arthur, from the nature of his position, was supposed to be moderate in his political views, but he does yeoman service for the Family Compact in trying to impress upon the authorities in England that the Reformers were disloyal. It is impossible to state what percentage of the Reformers were actually disloyal, but it must be remembered, as Egerton Ryerson has told us, the great body of the Reformers took no part in MacKenzie's Rebellion except to suppress it. The bulk of moderate opinion in the province sided neither with the annexationists nor with the Family Compact, but readily embraced the suggestions set forth in Lord Durham's Report. With these moderate reformers Sir George Arthur was soon at variance.

In the month of August, 1839, Sir George received a series of resolutions supporting Lord Durham's Report and Responsible Government passed at a meeting of freeholders and inhabitants of the Gore District held on July 27th. This meeting resolved that the House of Assembly did not represent the wishes or sentiments of the province "particularly in its late Report of its committee, purporting to be the Report of the House of Assembly in answer to Lord Durham's Report on the State of the Province." It also resolved "that the Report of the Earl of Durham, in all its material points, has been received by an overwhelming majority of the people of Upper Canada with the most abundant gratification" and "that this meeting is of opinion that a *responsible government*, as recommended in Lord Durham's Report, is the only means of restoring confidence, allaying discontent, or perpetuating the connexion between Great Britain and this colony." ‡

All this was wormwood and gall to Sir George Arthur, who hastened to reply to this address. In his answer he at-

‡Parl. paper (Canada), 1840, Pt. II, p. 181.

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tacks Responsible Government and states "that the proposed plan would lead to a state of things inconsistent with the relations of this colony, as a dependency of the British Crown." This was a bold statement for the Lieutenant-Governor to make and it was soon to land him into difficulties since the British authorities were prepared to carry out Lord Durham's schemes. Mr. Poulett Thomson was selected as Governor-General and under him Sir George Arthur was once more to act as a subordinate Lieutenant-Governor.*

It was a curious arrangement, since Arthur was known to be opposed to the very scheme of government which Poulett Thomson was being sent out to initiate. But Sir George Arthur was not unwilling to co-operate with the new Governor-General. He met Poulett Thomson at Montreal on October 25th and conferred with him on the subject of Upper Canada. It was decided that the Legislature of that province should be summoned for December 3rd and that Poulett Thomson would visit Upper Canada about the 18th of November. The Governor-General was determined to open the session of the Legislature in person. This determination on his part was largely the outcome of his conversations with Sir George Arthur, who strongly urged upon him the desirability of so doing.

As a result of this meeting between the Governor-General and Lieutenant-Governor, Poulett Thomson was present to open the Legislature on December 3rd. After that date Sir George Arthur's power in Upper Canada became entirely secondary to that of Poulett Thomson. He still acted as Lieutenant-Governor in the absence of the Governor-General but his term of real authority in Upper Canada ended on November 22nd, 1839, when the new Governor-General assumed the government of the upper province.

Sir George Arthur remained in Upper Canada until 1841, when the Act of Union came into force and the two provinces surrendered their separate existence. He then returned to England where his services in Canada were recognized by the bestowal upon him of a baronetcy. In June, 1842, he was appointed Governor of the Bombay Presidency in India, which

*For a full account of the relations between Poulett Thomson and Sir George Arthur the reader is referred to Shortt, *Sydenham*, pp. 153-162.

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office he held until his retirement in 1846. Had his health warranted the acceptance of so difficult a post he might then have become Governor-General of India. After returning to England Sir George Arthur was made a Privy Councillor and was honoured by the University of Oxford with the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law. He died on September 19th, 1854.

Sir George Arthur was a true type of the old colonial governor. He was unfortunate in that he was unable to realize that the days of colonial dependency were numbered, and that the future belonged to the advocates of self-government. His long experience as a colonial governor under the old regime, probably told against Arthur in his administration of Upper Canada just as it was of value to him as Governor of Bombay. His support of the Family Compact was as natural and sincere as his mistrust of Responsible Government. Of his uprightness and integrity there could be no doubt. Although his treatment of the political prisoners shows him to have been merciless, on occasion he was known as a gentle and kind man. He tried to do what he considered right but he lacked vision. Throughout his administration in Upper Canada he was attempting to bolster up a dying cause. His one fatal defect was that he could not see that the political future of Canada lay in the proper interpretation and elaboration of the principles laid down in Lord Durham's Report.

WALTER SAGE.

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"The idea of disinterested scientific inquiry was perhaps the greatest gift of Hellas to mankind."—Burnet, *Higher Education and the War*.

WHEN plans of reconstruction are the order of the day, it is but natural that in matters of education there should be a reconsideration of general aims and ideals. In educational circles, where final solutions are never attained, reconstruction is no new word. At a time, therefore, when the very foundations of our civilization are being shaken, it would be strange indeed if rival schools of thought did not reconsider their positions in the light of the world catastrophe.

Much of present day discussion centres around the old question of the relative merits of classical and scientific studies. Even before the war, the scientific movement was becoming increasingly strong, in part a natural result of the tremendous industrial development of the last half of the nineteenth century. The discovery by the great mass of the people of the ultimate dependence on science of so many of the "comforts" of modern civilization, had so emphasized the truth of Herbert Spencer's utilitarian arguments that even in educational circles the pendulum was swinging more and more to the scientific side. The war has but accelerated this movement. The stoppage of certain supplies, the production of which depended on the work of applied scientists in enemy countries; the nature of modern warfare itself, with its ghastly scientific means of destruction, its aeroplanes, its submarines, its long-range guns, and on the brighter side its highly equipped hospitals and laboratories—such things have brought about such a recognition of science that it is certain the next generation will be highly scientific.

To the educationist the movement presents a two-fold danger. On the one hand, the pendulum may swing so far to the scientific side that classical and literary studies will seriously suffer, while, on the other, applied science may be stressed to the neglect of the fundamental study of pure science. Now, while both these dangers are real, in the opinion of the writer the alarm felt in some quarters at the

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growing recognition of science is due, at least in part, to a lack of appreciation of the aims and methods of the study of *pure* science. In this article, therefore, an attempt is made to present some of its claims. It is written with the hope that it may help to bring about a more general recognition that a study which is characterized by a spirit of "courage and serenity, disciplined conscience, intellectual morality and habitual response to any disclosure of the truth"* is complementary, not antagonistic to the Humanities. At the outset the writer would like to state that he has but little sympathy, on the one hand, for the scientist who does not recognize that "any scheme of education is narrow and imperfect which does not preserve an important place for the human subject"† and, on the other, for the classicist, who in his mistaken idea that science deals solely with mechanical and material facts, frequently assumes an air of superiority.

I.

"The study of science for its own sake is emphatically humanistic." These words come from the pen of John Burnet, a man of classical and philosophical training, at present Dean of the Faculty of Arts at St. Andrew's University. If his statement is true—and coming from such a source it demands some attention—it may well be asked if there is any real quarrel between the scientific and the humanitarian schools of to-day. That the gulf which for so long apparently has existed between them is largely a matter of misunderstanding is suggested by a consideration of the historical development of science.

Man's search for Truth takes place along two main channels. On the one hand, there is the group of studies dealing with the human activities, with man's religious, moral, social and political outlook, past and present; on the other, there is the investigation of the world of Nature, of the background, as it were, of the scene in which man lives and moves and has his being. We have our mental and moral, as well as

*F. G. Peabody.

†Bryce, *Nature*, Aug. 22, 1912.

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our natural philosophers. Now, if we go back to the sixth century B.C., to those days in which a spirit of curiosity, a desire to know something of the causes behind facts, first began to manifest itself, we do not find any distinction—invidious or otherwise—made between various types of investigation. The early Greek philosopher was as much the prototype of the modern pure scientist as of the modern philosopher. Thales, with his conception of water as the ultimate primary substance; Anaximenes, with his substitution of air for water and his theory of rarefactions and condensations; Herakleitos with his idea of fire as the ultimate; and Empedocles, with his four elements, earth, air, fire and water, were surely as much physicists as philosophers. To Leukippos and Democritus atoms may have been more of an ultimate reality than they are to the twentieth century physicist, but to them we must at least ascribe the first suggestion not only of the modern atomic theory of matter, but also, with their conception of atomic motion, of the modern kinetic theory of matter. To the Pythagoreans is ascribed the doctrine of a central fire, a real scientific hypothesis which so many centuries later was partly responsible for Copernicus' discovery of a heliocentric system. Indeed "it was certainly Aristotle's reversion to the geocentric theory which made it necessary for Copernicus to discover the truth afresh."‡ The idea that the disinterested study of science was the greatest "purification" to release a man from the "wheel of birth" was probably due to the Pythagoreans or their master. It is worthy of note, too, that according to Burnet, the existence of these early scientific schools saved Greece from the evils of an eastern priesthood.

If we turn to Plato we find this intellectual giant much more of a mental and moral philosopher than a natural scientist, but not because of any belittling attitude of his to the latter. Indeed, while rightly insisting on the necessity of a non-utilitarian study of all subjects in any scheme for a liberal education, he gives full place to many subjects which would not now be classed with the Humanities. In the *Republic*, he says, "arithmetic has a very great and elevating effect, compelling the soul to reason about abstract matter." Further, in

‡Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, p. 349.

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his scheme for the higher education of the intellectual class who were to form the government in his ideal state, arithmetic, plane and solid geometry, music and astronomy were the subjects of the first ten years of the advanced course, dialectic being reserved for the remaining five. In the Laws of later years, however, "the course of study reached its height with the subject of mathematics, while dialectic was not mentioned."

In Aristotle, in spite of the retarding influence of his authority in later centuries, we find a man of scientific training, who, while more of a metaphysician than a scientist, combined the methods of both, to some extent at least. Of his recognition of the desirability of exact observation and of the necessity of an hypothesis "fitting the facts," the following quotation from his writings gives sufficient evidence. "The phenomena are not yet sufficiently investigated. When they once shall be, then *one must trust more to observation than to speculation* and to the latter no farther than it agrees with the phenomena." As he was not an "experimenter" himself, his work suffered from the lack of an accumulation of accurately observed facts and many of his conclusions were necessarily erroneous. It is surely a noteworthy fact that in the thirteenth century at the schools which formed the beginnings of some of our modern universities, the use of his Natural Philosophy was prohibited. Even more remarkable is the extent of the authority of Aristotle among the Scholastics, in view of their complete failure to trust "more to observation than to speculation."

In these early centuries, therefore, when the foundations of our western civilization were being laid, it is safe to say that the study of pure science was given an honourable place and developed side by side with logic and metaphysics. It will be evident, too, from a consideration of the work of men like Euclid, Archimedes and Pliny that neither the Macedonian nor the Roman Conquest at first suppressed the spirit of inquiry which Greek culture brought with it wherever it went. Great, however, as was the power and far-reaching the influence of Hellenism, the spirit of free investigation could not survive the many opposing influences which it encountered. The temperament of the Roman people was not favorable to the study of

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pure science and their love of rhetoric accentuated a tendency to dogmatic discussions—a tendency which had made itself evident even in the Post-Aristotelian schools of philosophy. By the second century A.D. even the teaching of rhetoric had sadly degenerated, grammarians and rhetoricians wandering “from town to town more for the purpose of entertaining than of teaching. Glittering phrases, epigrams, and other artificialities took the place of instruction and argument.”* Of the gradual decay of the Roman empire, the antagonism between Christian and pagan schools of philosophy, and the growing power of the church culminating in the edict of Justinian in 529 this is not the place to write. It is obvious to any student of history that the spirit of these early centuries of the Christian era was not favorable to an untrammelled inquiry of truth. It is well to note, however, that, while for so many centuries the intellectual level of Europe was at such a low mark and such a thing as scientific investigation was totally foreign to the spirit of the Dark Ages, the curricula of many of the schools included largely those subjects recommended by Plato. In the monastic schools, for example, we find classical learning in the form of the Seven Liberal Arts, which included ‘grammar’ (an introduction to literature), ‘rhetoric’ (involving some knowledge of law and history), ‘dialectic’ (preparation for metaphysics), ‘arithmetic’, ‘geometry’ (with geography and surveying), ‘music’ and ‘astronomy’ (with physics and higher mathematics). The Hellenic spirit had almost departed from all education, but in the body which remained science was still given the important place it held in Platonic days.

With the advent of Humanism, the study of pure science was re-born. It is true that even before the time of Petrarch, the great Humanist, we find in Roger Bacon, with his insistence on observation and experiment, indications of the birth of the new life soon to be so vigorous. True Humanism, however, in its break with ecclesiastical authority and slavery to tradition, in its insistence on a ‘natural explanation of natural phenomena’, was as much a revival of pure science as of classical learning. Early Humanism did not mean the study of what

*Graves, *A Student's History of Education*, p. 40.

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we now call the Humanities; it was rather an attitude towards life and an attitude which the study of science for its own sake exemplifies in the highest degree. In short it was largely a revival of the attitude of the early Greek philosophers. It was fitting, therefore, nay, necessary, that it should be accompanied by a revival of the study of classical Latin and the great Latin authors, and later by the study of Greek. Therein lay the only way of regaining the spirit which was to break the bonds of mediaevalism. Therein, too, was found the source of much of the inspiration and many of the ideas of the great scientific investigators of the sixteenth century. As a single illustration we may cite the case of Harvey whose discovery of the circulation of the blood is not unconnected with his study of the work of Hippocrates and other Greek writers.

In Renaissance times, therefore, it was perfectly natural for a man to be a scientist as well as a classicist. Of the three men—Linacre, Grocyn and Latimer—who were pioneers in the introduction of classical scholarship into England, one of them, Linacre, was a graduate in medicine of the university of Padua, and, while lecturing in Greek for a time at Oxford, had his chief interest in science. We may mention, too, the broad interests of Michelangelo—sculptor, painter, architect, engineer, poet—and of Leonardo da Vinci.

Early Humanism, however, did not accomplish the complete emancipation of the individual from authority, nor, we may add, completely restore the study of pure science to its proper place. In Italy, it all too soon "spent itself in erudition and artistic effort," and throughout Europe a formalistic study of classical authors grew up, with an over-emphasis on the artistic side of Greek life. "Even the word 'humanities' lost its large and generous original meaning and shrank into a synonym for Greek and Latin learning."* A one-sided classicism developed, which has not yet disappeared and has been undoubtedly one of the chief causes of the unnatural estrangement between science and the Humanities.

Science, then, was not allowed to go hand in hand with its natural companion. Since its re-birth, however, its light has

*Hudson, *The Story of the Renaissance*, p. 155.

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burned steadily, although not without chilly blasts of opposition. The church, while ultimately welcoming the classics, was bitterly opposed to the freedom which science stood for. The Reformation accomplished much, but complete freedom was a long way off. Luther's designation of Copernicus as a fool and the persecution of Galileo are sufficient evidence of the ecclesiastical attitude at that time to science. It is not surprising, therefore, that in a country like England where the church has been such a factor in educational matters (witness, for example, the large number of clerical headmasters in modern times), the study of classics has been unduly prominent for so many years.

The cause of the estrangement, however, lay by no means entirely with the classicists. Advocates of a scientific, naturalistic training have been partly responsible. Of these we may mention Comenius, Voltaire and Rousseau, three men all of whom had an important influence on methods in education. In the seventeenth century Comenius, with his adoption of Francis Bacon's inductive methods, was an important factor in encouraging scientific education, but we find in him a complete failure to recognize the value of the study of classical literature. Christianity could get along very well without that. In the eighteenth century, Voltaire and Rousseau were strong supporters of the scientific movement but neither the former, with his ultra-rationalism, nor the latter with his attitude of indifference to the past, could be said to have a true appreciation of humanistic education. During the nineteenth century, with the introduction of laboratories in places such as Oxford and Cambridge, classics ceased to have a monopoly in the educational field. Its position was strongly entrenched, however, and a complete fraternization of the rival camps was not to be immediately expected. No doubt the materialistic position of many scientific men during the nineteenth century did not help in the process of mutual appreciation. At the beginning of the twentieth century, science perhaps has more than come into its own. In the readjustment in all our walks of life forced on us by the war, surely it is not too much to hope that pure science and the Humanities will be found on common ground as natural allies.

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II.

What, then, we may ask, should be the position of the study of pure science in its relation to the two-fold function of the university? Is it worthy a place side by side with the Humanities in an institution which seeks, in the first place, to develop the type of culture that enables a man, in Milton's words, "to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices both public and private of peace and war", and, in the second place, to foster the spirit of investigation, the search for the unknown? If the writer's contention concerning the humanistic character of pure science be granted, the answer to either of these questions is obvious. Before any final conclusions are made, however, it is well to note certain further considerations.

One of the strongest arguments in favor of classical studies is what may be called the historical. We refer to the fact that, for the proper study of any ancient civilization, a perusal of works in the original tongue of the people concerned is absolutely necessary. A study of classics cannot be divorced from the study of history. It is significant, therefore, to note the insistence of a writer like Mr. F. S. Marvin on a recognition "that the development of science and industry, their mutual relations, and their position in the social economy are leading questions not only for politics but for history." * Again in an article in which the same writer discusses the evolution of the ideal of humanity, he says, "History and science and service make the whole, and they are inseparable." † A knowledge of the development of scientific thought is necessary for any proper historical study of mankind. Even the history of man's spiritual development is not unrelated to science. Take the moral realm, for example. It will scarcely be denied that a knowledge of some branches of science has resulted in an improvement in our conduct of life, and that some of our ideas of right and wrong may have to be revised in the light of increasing scientific knowledge. In the words

*Contemporary Review, March, 1918.

†Hibbert Journal, April, 1918.

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of Professor J. Arthur Thomson, the distinguished zoologist, "Science cannot create good-will, but it may help to guide it."‡

Again in the historical development of philosophy, science plays an important part. We may mention two striking illustrations. In the field of astronomy we have, in the sixteenth century, Copernicus' discovery of a heliocentric system. The commotion which this caused in the intellectual world at that time is sufficient evidence of its tremendous influence on philosophic thought. In the field of biology, we have Darwin's great discovery of the nineteenth century. The place which evolution has in modern thought needs no comment and the point need not be laboured. On this whole question of the relation between philosophy and the sciences, much could be written. We shall refer, however, to but one further point which can best be illustrated by quoting some remarks of Professor Poynting, a foremost English physicist, recently deceased, concerning the electron theory of matter. "The remark will perhaps bear repetition, and indeed many repetitions, that *such an atomic system as Professor Thomson has imagined is not to be tested by its reality. Its reality is beyond proof, and is in fact profoundly unimportant.* Its value lies in the mental picture which it enables us to form of processes of which the details are beyond the range of our senses, in the number of different phenomena which it will represent, in the lines of research which it will suggest."** In this quotation we have a good example of the metaphysical tendency of some of our modern scientific theories.

Concerning the value which results to the student from the study of pure science, we shall write briefly. Much has been made of the study of Latin for purposes of 'formal discipline.' About this whole question a psychologist is much more qualified to speak than a physicist. It seems to the writer, however, that if there is such a thing as 'formal discipline,' as he is inclined to believe, it is also to be found in the study of an abstract science such as Physics. The insistence on a logical development of proofs, the necessity of co-

‡Aberdeen University Review, Feb., 1918.

**Hibbert Journal, July, 1904. (The italics are the writer's).

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relating facts, of exercising judgment in the formation of conclusions—all these things must develop surely qualities of mind which can be put to good use in many walks of life.

That a stimulation of the imagination results from scientific study will be suggested by a re-reading of the remarks of Professor Poynting which have just been quoted. In science the constant necessity of formulating and of revising hypotheses makes it very necessary to be able to see beyond the visible. This method, too, of forming hypotheses which must “fit the facts”, as well as stand the test of experiment, should result in the development of open-mindedness and of good judgment. The spirit of wonder, and closely allied to it, that of reverence, are also easily aroused, even in the most elementary science classes. The writer has yet to meet the student who, on seeing for the first time a demonstration of the properties of X-rays, is not interested and sometimes profoundly so. Still more important, the question ‘what *are* X-rays?’ needs no suggestion. Now, the value of the attitude of mind exemplified by such a question is beyond dispute, and therein perhaps lies the most important of all the benefits derived from the study of science. The student is constantly led to ask ‘why’ of the facts, with all that that implies. In the subject with which the writer is most familiar, this question comes up again and again, even in the most elementary classes. Sometimes the physicists’ “explanation” in terms of matter and motion is given, sometimes none is forthcoming, and, in any case, the ultimate is never reached. Work of the last generation has brought us the *electron*, a common constituent to atoms of all elements, and a very real primary substance to the physicist, but we can still ask, “What is an electron?”

Lastly, some branches of science make a distinct appeal to man’s aesthetic nature. We may mention, for example, the beauty of colour encountered by the physicist in spectroscopy, and the beauty and variety, both of form and colour, which the botanist and the zoologist find in innumerable specimens. May we not conclude, therefore, that pure science, which goes to Nature in its search for Truth, is worthy of an honourable place side by side with those studies which find their chief interest in man?

III.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the true scientist has no desire to see a proper recognition of his subject at the expense of the Humanities. He asks rather for a partnership, with mutual and sympathetic co-operation. His attitude is that of Professor J. Arthur Thomson, who, in maintaining that "we need in education *both* science and the Humanities and *more of both*,"* adds that it is like "making an antithesis between fresh air and meals" to consider them as opponents. In the report of the representative committee appointed to enquire into the position of natural science in the educational system of Great Britain, we find this statement. "We are, however, confident that the teaching of science must be vivified by a development of its human interest side by side with its material and mechanical aspects and . . . *it must never be divorced from those literary and historical studies which touch most naturally the heart and the hopes of mankind.*"† Such is the opinion of some of the foremost men of science in Great Britain.

In the actual working out of any scheme for closer co-operation, we are confronted with the practical difficulty which arises from "the complex and constantly growing content" of knowledge. What time, it may be asked, has the student specializing in classics for the study of science, or the student in mathematics and physics for the study of literature? Not much, it is true, but he has some, and in any university, no matter how elective its system, it should not be possible for a student to take a course either entirely literary or entirely scientific. It may be argued that the smattering obtained from a single pass course in any subject is of little value. This, however, should not be the case. The new point of view, apart altogether from the content of such a course, should alone make it worth while. Furthermore, pass courses are planned to meet the requirements of the general student, as well as the one preceding farther in the subject. Along this line, how-

*Aberdeen University Review, Feb., 1918.

†The italics are the writer's.

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ever, especially in science courses, there is probably room for improvement, and one important way in which that can be brought about lies in a greater stress on the historical side. This aspect, of course, has not been entirely neglected, but on the whole it is deserving of more attention than it has received. That there is a marked tendency in this direction seems evident from some recent lectures on "The New Humanism", delivered in Toronto by Dr. Georges Sarton, a former resident of Ghent, now editor of the Quarterly Magazine *Isis*. From what the writer can gather from a very brief report of these lectures, apparently the New Humanism lies in the supplementing of scientific teaching with the teaching of the history of science. While his use of the word Humanism seems open to criticism, there is much in his message to be taken to heart by scientific teachers. We would not advocate, however, any special course of historical lectures for science students. There is too much lecturing as it is in our Canadian universities. In pass classes, as already suggested, a good deal could be done in an incidental way. In honour classes, students might well be required to submit an essay on some assigned reading, and if this essay were criticized by the Department of English, it would mean a double advantage to the student. The recent appearance of Tyler and Sedgwick's "Short History of Science," with its numerous historical references, has provided an extremely useful book for such a purpose.

In conclusion, we would reaffirm our conviction that the avoidance of more than one evil in a highly scientific age lies in the stressing of pure science. The world is in the melting-pot these days and much dross will be purged away. Is it too much to hope that, in the purified life which emerges, pure science and the Humanities will be found arm in arm, closely united in their common aim to advance the cause of Truth and Humanity?

J. K. ROBERTSON.

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RODERICK Ward Maclellan, known to his friends as Ward, was a Queen's Arts graduate of 1914. He was born in Toronto on the 17th of May, 1893, and was killed in France on the 23rd of December, 1917. Prior to entering Queen's in 1910, he had received his earlier education in the schools of his native city. Both his father and his grandfather Maclellan were graduates of Queen's. He decided to follow his father in the legal profession, so in October, 1914, he registered in the Law School at Osgoode Hall. One immediate result of the war in legal circles was the Osgoode Rifle Club which he joined and he soon became one of the crack shots. He completed his first year in law in the spring of 1915, and in October commenced his second, and at the same time joined an Officers' Training Corps connected with the University of Toronto. In December he decided to join the reinforcements which Queen's was gathering to send to her Hospital then at Cairo. In January, 1917, he went to Kingston and enlisted as private number 03755. While there he received the result of the Christmas law examinations, standing fifth in a class of about ninety. In his farewell letter from Kingston he said: "I wish you all good-bye again, and remember that I am going off on work which is congenial and necessary, and I could not with any self-respect stay in Toronto any longer."

He sailed from St. John with the rank of Sergeant, on the 2nd of March, crossing the Atlantic on the Scandinavian. To a fresh water sailor from boyhood the voyage was full of interest, although he described it as a very rough passage. "There was frequent lifeboat drill. When we were within a day or two of England greater precautions were taken. I was chased back to my room by the guard several times, because I had started without my belt. They were carried everywhere, to the dining room, to the lavatories and on deck. It made me think of the Ancient Mariner and the Albatross, to see all the passengers going round with white life preservers slung round

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course. On March 12th the "Mosquito fleet" came out to meet us. Away on the horizon to starboard I saw three small black specks, gradually growing larger, racing towards us like mad. Others rushed towards us from the port side, and presently we had seven wicked looking torpedo boats escorting us. Flashes from their signal lamps ordered alterations in our course. Presently H.M.S. Drake speeded up and disappeared over the horizon ahead.—As we lay in Plymouth harbour I was impressed by the hills, green and brown in the sun, and after snowbound Canada the sight of green herbage was most welcome."

The next day he reached Shorncliffe, and as Queen's Hospital was then on its way from Egypt to France, the reinforcements were detained in England, and the various members were detailed for duty in several places. MacLennan was soon taken on the orderly room staff of the Canadian Army Medical Corps Training School then stationed at Dibgate, a clearing depot for the Canadian Medical Service. He was given a new number 535405, and remained at this work for three months. In June, 1916, he with others from the school was transferred to the Shorncliffe Military Hospital to organize a new staff. He was again in the Orderly Room, and in a short time was advanced to the rank of a Staff Sergeant. He remained at this work until February, 1917. During this period he several times had leave and visited Dover, Canterbury, Glasgow, Loch Lomond, Edinburgh, Melrose, Abbotsford, Stratford-on-Avon, Exeter, Bath, Land's End, and London many times.

After a few months with the Medical service he became firmly convinced that with his education and military training he could render more valuable service if he had a commission. He accordingly applied for the position of Honorary Lieutenant and Quarter Master in the Medical service where he had gained much experience. He felt most keenly the difference of social grade, which unfortunately seemed to exist, between the commissioned and non-commissioned rank. Referring to the application at this time, the Major-General at Canadian Headquarters wrote from London to his father. "I have pleasure in informing you that your son is recommended for pro-

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their necks.—On the ninth day we began steering a zigzag motion in very flattering terms indeed, and his name has been noted for promotion when a vacancy occurs.” The promised advance was so long delayed, that he was obliged to seek a commission in another branch of the service.

Writing home in March, 1917, he said: “What I am about to tell you may come as a bit of a surprise, but I know you will, on thinking the matter over, approve of it. Just on the eve of my departure for France I was taken off the Queen’s Hospital draft and held here, on account of an application sent forward in February to the War Office to secure my appointment to a commission in the Royal Flying Corps. It appears now that I shall be accepted, and shall commence a period of instruction. One reason for my taking this step is because fit men are in such great demand for fighting units. Nothing has made me happier for a long time than my two interviews in London with officers at the War Office.”

A goodly portion of his leisure was devoted to his correspondence and journal. A weekly letter addressed jointly to his father, mother and sister, never once failed in crossing the Atlantic to his home in Canada. Other relatives and friends also received letters. The extracts which follow are his own account of his experiences in the air, and some of the other things which were of more than passing interest to this student in khaki.

Brasenose College, Oxford, Sunday, 1st July, 1917. The great thing this week is examinations, and if we are successful, our Commission. The extra amount of cramming that has been going on the last few days, reminds me of Osgoode Hall and Queen’s. One of the most important subjects we have is rigging, and extra stress has been laid on it, so I have been doing a lot of scrambling in and out of planes, and through wires, and I flatter myself that rigging is one of my best subjects. I wish I could say the same about engines. We have four different types to learn, and they are pretty complicated affairs you may be sure. We had four hours of practical work on them, running them and starting them by turning the propeller, or “prop.” This is usually done by a mechanic, but an

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officer has to learn how it is done, in case he has to make a forced landing, and then has to restart his engine to get home.

Photography is another branch of work taken up, but it is not very difficult. Some beautiful instruments are used with exceptionally fine lenses; they all work at about $f/4.3$. The cameras are fixed focus and we use 4 x 5 plates of a special kind. At the school are hundreds of interesting aerial photographs, which are used in conjunction with lectures. I am not giving away any great secret in saying, that probably every inch of the British front in France is photographed daily.

Possibly in my next letter I shall tell you to address all further communication to R. W. MacLennan, 2nd Lieut. R.F.C.

No. 8 Training Squadron, R.F.C., Somewhere in England, 7th July, 1917. R. W. MacLennan, Esq., 2nd Lieut., R.F.C., is addressing this letter to you from the Training Squadron to which he has been sent from Oxford. The examinations lasted two whole days and were held in the City Corn Exchange on George Street. Many of us were surprised and rather annoyed at the simple questions asked; only about three per cent. of the applicants failed. The papers were (1) Rotary Engines, (2) Stationary Engines, (3) Bombs, Instruments, Photography, Wireless, etc., (4) Rigging and Theory of Flight, (5) Aerial observation, and (6) A practical test in reading Morse on the buzzer.

The examinations terminated on July 5th and the results came out that afternoon, and my commission dated from midnight of the 5th. On the 6th I was sent with about 40 others to this camp, where we shall learn to fly.

I think we are going to be comfortable here, though it is not such a civilized place as Oxford. The officers mess is near the village on a height above the river. We have to wait on ourselves in Cafeteria style, and cannot sit and be looked after as at Oxford. The quarters are crowded at present, and many of the new arrivals had to go into tents. I share a room with two others in one of the four rooms in little white and black bungalows built of beaver board. They have red (imitation tile) roofs and yellow chimney pots. The mess resembles a good country club and has a capital billiard room,

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and well furnished anteroom and in front two tennis courts. The aeroplane sheds, half a mile east, are huge affairs, built of corrugated iron. Each flight has its own shed. There are three squadrons with three flights each.

The Training Camp, 8th July, 1917. I can now tell you something about my first flight which took place this morning, and ended only a few minutes ago. It was in a Maurice Farman dual control machine. The engine and propellor are behind both pupil and pilot, and so the machine is a pusher, and the pupil, who sits away out in front, has a splendid outlook, with nothing in his way. The first flight in R.F.C. parlance is a "Joy ride," and is a trip as passenger to see whether you are going to be sick or frightened. I was neither the one nor the other, and enjoyed every minute in the air. We were up fifteen minutes. I was told not to watch the ground as we were leaving it, and so I kept my eyes on the horizon for a minute or two. Then I took a look at the ground below, and as it seemed to be quite natural to be leaving it, I kept on watching it getting farther and farther away. You know how a bicycle in turning a corner has to lean slightly in, to keep from falling outwards. An aeroplane does the same thing in turning, and this "banking," as it is called, was hard to get used to. However when I remembered how needlessly people are scared by a sail boat leaning over in a stiff breeze, I liked banking, and hoped the pilot would do some more, and when he did it again I hardly felt it.

The first machines used for instruction were designed by Farman, as a suitable buss in which to fly with his wife. They are for comfort and not speed, have 70 to 80 H.P. air cooled 8 cylinder motors, and 60 miles per hour is about the best they will do. They are slow climbers, and we only went up 600 feet. The German attacks on London were carried out at an altitude of 18,000 (over 3 miles). The aerodrome and hangars looked very small, even from 600 feet, and sheep in a field like pieces of dirty rice. The first motion of the volplane back to earth rather took my breath away but I soon got accustomed to it. The machine had no windscreen and, as I was not wearing goggles the speed of 60 miles rather hurt my eyes.

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Prior to leaving Oxford, all who had passed their examinations visited the Quartermaster at Christ Church and were issued a flying kit, the value of which is from \$150 to \$200. It forms quite an imposing array and consists of a yellow leather coat to one's boot tops, with a high collar and lined with fleecy wool; a yellow leather flying cap covering head, face and neck, except eyes and nose (the inside is lovely and soft, and lined with sealskin); a learner's helmet made of leather and padded with rubber and never used; sealskin gauntlets to the elbows; leather thigh boots lined with sheepskin and with red rubber soles; a large pair of rubber overshoes with cloth tops, the latter to be worn over the sheepskin high boots to keep them dry before a flight. None of these wonderful things are worn in the summer, but the coat makes an excellent bath robe and a fine extra blanket on cold nights. We also received a camp kit which cost us about \$40—folding bed, pillow, rubber sheet, bath and wash stand and a folding chair.

Being an officer now, I no longer have to clean my boots or belt. My batman is a youngish large chap of extreme deafness, and as far as I can make out far from lofty intelligence. Most batmen are like this. However if he succeeds in getting me out of bed each morning at 4 a.m., in time for early flying, he will be doing something to help along the war.

The Training Camp, 15 July, 1917. My second flight took place the evening following the day of the first, and in the same machine. It was also a "Joy ride," but this time we climbed to 3000 feet, and came down in a spiral or rather small radius. It was very thrilling, and was done I think in order to test my nerves. We came down very quickly, and the sudden change from low to high pressure made me quite deaf for a few minutes after landing.

During the past week I have done three and one half hours actual flying, and I am enjoying it very much indeed. I cannot help feeling that it would be great fun to fly around over the islands in Lake Joseph. Flying over cities does not appeal to me much. Out here we are far from the habitation of man, and, but for the hutted military camps, there are no houses in sight.

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My instructor still accompanies me in the machine, but I do most of the flying, and am gaining confidence every day. Landing is considered the most difficult thing for a beginner, but I do not find it hard and I enjoy it. It is done in this manner:—You pick a nice green field where the grass is fairly short. I usually land from 200 feet; at that height a field with short grass is easily distinguishable. The nose of the machine is pointed towards the earth, the engine is throttled down to a slow speed, and the machine begins to plane down. She comes pretty fast but you hardly realize this, and are only conscious of a steady throbbing noise as the air beats against the planes. There is no sensation of falling, merely gliding towards the ground. When twelve feet off the ground you slowly pull back your control lever (joy stick) and the machine flattens out and runs over the grass with little jarring or bouncing. A poorly made landing makes the machine jump up and down and bounce like a rubber ball. If by mistake the pilot flattens out too soon, i.e. about 20 feet off the ground, it immediately loses its forward speed and drops like a plummet. Landing on its wheels it usually bounds into the air, pauses a moment, drops again, and this time having no forward speed at all the full weight of the machine, pilot, engine, etc., dropping from a slight height causes the undercarriage to break or possibly something worse happens.

I wonder if I am tiring you with ravings about flying. Sometimes we fly over country hamlets, and it is interesting to look down at the upturned faces of the yokels. A flock of sheep moving across a meadow resembles, from 400 feet, a mass of white maggots crawling, a rather nasty description, but so it seemed to me. The other morning we passed over one of the Australian camps just before breakfast, the men were being given physical jerks in the barrack square, surrounded by wooden huts. While we watched, they began to play leap frog, and it was an amusing spectacle. It is interesting from a height to watch other aeroplanes sliding along far below, giving the impression of flat white fish swimming at a lower level in the sea. One thing has struck me forcibly, that there is little or no noise to bother you. From the ground the machines seem to kick up a fearful row in the air. When

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flying you hear the engine and propellor, but it is by no means deafening, and you can easily talk to your passenger.

Machines always land into the wind, so a large T is kept on the ground near the hangars, the cross piece facing the wind. This is moved when the wind changes, and you know that if you land up the long part into the cross you are all right.

Our daily programme: Flying from 4.30 to 8.00 a.m. We each get an hour, taking it in turn. Machine gun and wireless from 10 to 11.30 a.m. Then we are usually free till from 7 to 10 p.m., when more flying is done. We spend part of the day making up the sleep we lose in getting up so early. In the morning and in the evening air currents are very little disturbed by the heat of the sun.

The Training Camp, 22 July, 1917. It is Sunday morning and wonder of wonders the authorities have decided that for this week it shall be a holiday.

I have now completed my instruction with 'dual control', and the night before last I was allowed to go up alone for a short time. It was a quiet evening and I got on quite well, and the flight increased my self confidence to a great extent. I was a bit nervous at first, but made my landing fairly well. I did not go higher than 500 feet. The next morning I had two flights of half an hour each, getting in several landings. The wind was strong and the air bumpy, and as the wind blew over the sheds it made taking off difficult. I scared the Major by taking off over the sheds, instead of through the gaps between them, and I got "bawled out" by him for this when I came down.

I am now a "soloist" as far as present machines go, and am consequently treated with a certain amount of respect by the other chaps, who are still going up with their instructors. I was surprised to learn that I was the first of the forty who came from Oxford, a fortnight ago, to do a solo flight. The instructors have trying times in getting the chaps persuaded to go up solo for the first time.

I have been lucky too. Landing an aeroplane is like bringing a sail-boat into a wharf. It can be done easily by one who knows how, and the inexperienced or careless person can

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do it with a bump. The undercarriage, or wheels on which an aeroplane lands, are designed, in the instructional machines, to break with a bump, and thus save the more valuable parts and also the pilot from harm. Every night someone makes a bouncing landing, and to use a term common here, "does in" their undercarriage. Last night I had a crash, I bounced slightly when I touched the ground, then lost flying speed, "pancaked" and swerved to the left, causing my two port wheels to turn over. I was delighted to find that nothing was broken. The mechanics in my flight were overjoyed when I came in without having damaged anything at all, and I made several landings. All the other machines but one had breaks. This meant that the mechanics have to spend all today fixing them.

Although I was the first of our bunch to do a solo, it was not because I was rushed through. I had careful instruction and received two hours more dual than most get. I have got now so that I can look about me while in the air; at first I had to look straight ahead all the time.

London, 26 July, 1917. I completed my four hours "solo" on the afternoon of July 23rd, with great success. My landings gradually improved as time went on, and I managed to complete my course with only one breakage, a strut cross-bracing wire, which was repaired inside of five minutes.

I have been able to get 48 hours leave from the camp, and so took the opportunity of running up to town to finish getting my clothes. I think I have everything now.

I return to the aerodrome tonight, but shall leave it almost at once to go to a more advanced squadron, as I have learned all they can teach me at this camp.

Central Flying School, 28th July, 1917. As you will see am no longer at the old camp, having finished my elementary training there.

While the old camp is fresh in my mind I might say something of the training I received there. I got most of my instruction from my Squadron Commander, Major Atkinson. He was a splendid man, and I believe had been with the R.F.C.

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prior to the war. A lot of confidence came to me from his advice and "tips," and as a result I managed to do my four hours of solo flying with no trouble or accident of any kind. As I was the first of my Oxford companions to finish solo flying, this, I think, helped to get me my two days leave, as it was almost unheard of that leave should be obtained after completing one's elementary instruction.

Before I left the old camp, I got to thoroughly enjoy riding around the aerodrome alone in a "Rumpty" as the instructional machine is called. For ordinary flying (putting in time) I used to go clackety-clacking round at 400 feet, and soon became so accustomed to the old busses that I could lie back and rest and view the country and not think much about actual flying, which became pretty well instinctive.

The machines here are quite different; they pretty well fly themselves, and are much faster. There is not the same engine noise. The old busses used to clack away like a sewing machine or a one-cylinder motor boat. Those here "hum" and would even satisfy Uncle Jim, they are so noiseless.

The Camp, 29th July, 1917. As I write it is half-past three, and in Muskoka with you it will be shortly after breakfast. I am having my little touch of imaginary Muskoka. I had the choice of sharing a room in a wooden hut, or of having a small bell tent pitched in a grove of pines in rear of the mess. I chose the tent, and am enjoying sleeping out doors again. The view from the tent door is a wide one. It overlooks miles and miles of rolling downs.

Our mess is a lovely place. It is a large long one-story building built of concrete blocks. The ceilings are high and there are large windows everywhere. It has a big lobby, a huge dining room, a large billiard room, two writing rooms, a card room and the ante-room which is a long rectangular room with its southern side all windows and has several sky lights, the whole effect tending towards that of a studio. I have several times thought of trying some photographs there. The floor is tiled and covered with rugs and the walls decorated with deer's heads. The dining room is also a big bright room and the walls are hung with good oil paintings. The mess as

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a whole is more like a large hotel than an implement of war. I suppose it will be kept on as a training centre after the war.

I had rather hoped that life with the R. F. C. might make me grow a bit thinner, but we have such splendid meals that I am beginning to despair. I have never had such good food, such variety and such tasty cooking as we are enjoying at present. It has Oxford completely beaten, although the surroundings are not as impressive. The mess is also much better, and incidentally much more expensive, than at the old camp.

The Camp, 12th August, 1917. The past week has been a dull one; continual rain day after day has made flying and certainly instruction impossible. Yesterday I had a "joy ride" in one of the very fast machines. It was fine, and gave me all sorts of thrills. The chief disadvantage is the stream of castor oil which the rotary engine throws out all over the machine, pilot and passenger. The fastest machines of all are tiny little things and carry only one man. They have stationary engines and are not nearly so dirty as those I have just mentioned.

I had a letter recently from one of the chaps at Westenhanger, and he tells me that quite a number are joining the flying service as a result of the step I took.

On Thursday I was inoculated for typhoid and consequently had a sore arm for a day or two. It is all over now. This was my first inoculation since the dose I had in Kingston in 1916.

The Camp, 14 August, 1917. To his Uncle Bob: You ask about first flights. The first couple were merely joy rides during which I became accustomed to the 'feel' of being off the ground, turning, banking, etc. The remainder of the 5 or 6 hours I spent on dual control. The practice machines are fitted up with one set of control levers, rudder bar, throttle and switch for the instructor, and a duplicate set of each for the pupil. The latter rests his hands and feet lightly on the controls while the instructor does the actual flying. Each movement made by the instructor is felt by the hands and feet

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of the pupil, who soon begins to associate the action of the machine with the different movements of the controls. Later on the pupil takes control and the instructor merely rests his hands on the levers. Still later the pupil takes full control and the teacher (who is behind) rests his hands on the pupil's shoulders to show him that at last he is actually flying the machine alone, usually greatly to the surprise of the latter.

After this, a fine morning is chosen when there is not much wind and the young birdman tremblingly sets forth on his first solo flight. He goes round the aerodrome once or twice and then essays a landing, and if he carries this out successfully his confidence is increased enormously, and he usually gets on pretty well.

This morning one of the instructors took me for a "joy ride" on one of the fastest machines, an "Avro." We were bound for ———, a nearby aerodrome, but at 3000 feet the clouds got so thick that we had to turn back. The clouds were the great white ones that pile up on one another against a deep blue sky on a summer day. We found ourselves in a sort of gorge, which seemed to run for miles between huge banks of the white clouds. Far below us as we looked down the lane between the clouds lay a bright green strip of fields. On either side, almost touching the wing tips of our machine, was an impenetrable mass of snowy white cloud-bank. Far above us as we looked up through the cañon walls was a strip of bright blue sky. This gorge of clear air between the clouds, although very narrow, extended several miles back to the aerodrome. It was great. I hope I am not boring you with all this detail, but I have no particular news.

The Camp, 19 August, 1917. Since leaving Oxford I have had quite a little opportunity for reading, and have read all kinds of things, some of the better books being: Conan Doyle's "Micah Clarke," and part of "Martin Chuzzlewit", one or two of Alexander Dumas' tales, two humorous books by George Birmingham, about small Irish villages, and one or two of Bernard Shaw's plays.

I am still doing dual control on B. E. 2b machines, which, by the way, are quite out of date for military purpose, and

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were obsolete even before the war. They are good busses for instructional purposes, for if one can fly one of these, he can fly anything else made. Our pet name for these *antediluvian* birds is "Hunguffin." I probably told you that the Farman machines, on which I learned to fly, are called "Rumpties." Nearly all machines have similar pet names. One rather popular type of scout machine is called a "Pup" because of its small size. Another is called a "Camel" because its planes have a peculiar humped appearance, when looking at them from the front. It will be another month before I have anything to do with either Pups or Camels, as, when I finish with Hunguffins, I have to learn to fly Avros before going on to the smaller scout machines.

Fog and low clouds hold us back a great deal. Fog is the worst, and then it is not safe to go up, as it is difficult to see the ground and hard to land properly. A good lookout is kept from the ground when the machines are up, and if a fog is seen approaching, white rockets are sent up, and all machines must land at once. The rockets burst high up, above the clouds if they are low ones, and the flashes are easily seen. This happened once in my early experience.

During the past week I had several rides in an Avro. Probably the most thrilling thing you can do with an Avro is "stalling." This is a safety arrangement to enable a machine to get into a proper gliding position, in case of engine failure. First, when flying level you get up a good speed, then gradually point the machine's nose up and up, until she climbs so steep that the engine will take her no further. Then, if the engine is shut off, the machine will tail slide a short distance, then her nose will drop and she will dive, and from this she is gradually flattened out again. The dive is a fine thrilling sensation, and has tobogganing beaten a long way. The machine is so designed that she will come out of the dive herself, although the pilot usually pulls her out.

The controls of all these machines are simple. The main one is the "joy stick," a handle which comes up from the floor between the pilot's feet. To go up, the stick is pulled towards the pilot, to go down, it is pushed forward, and the engine shut off. To turn to the left the stick is moved towards the

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left, and this tilts the planes to the left, at the same time the left foot, which is resting on the rudder bar, in front of the joy stick, is pushed slightly forward, this with the left bank which you have previously put on the machine turns her to the left. When the turn is made you press gently on the rudder bar with the right foot to make it central again, at the same time you take off the bank by moving the joy stick slightly to the right. The whole thing soon becomes instinctive, and you do it all without thinking about it.

The Camp, 2nd September, 1917. Until to-day, the wet stormy weather continued, and consequently I am still on dual control and am getting an excellent chance to learn everything.

The first serious accident occurred a few days ago, and I am going to tell you about it so that you may understand what small need there is to worry. Most accidents occur on the type of elementary machines I flew at the beginning. They are the hardest of any to fly, and I am glad I am successfully finished with them. The smash occurred to a chap named Wood from Kingston. I went to college with him, and I believe his father is a missionary in India. His machine nose-dived about 200 feet to the ground and there was not enough of it left to think of repairing it. Every bit was smashed to atoms, and yet Wood was practically unhurt. He had a black eye, a scratch on his head and a tooth knocked out, and nothing else. I went to see him in the hospital yesterday, and he expects to be flying again in almost no time. Only one bad smash in about 3000 flights, since I have been here, and that one only slightly shaken up, looks pretty safe, does it not?

The Camp, 9th September, 1917. Since I last wrote I have made my first solo flight at the Central Flying School. I managed it all right, making several good landings, and was complimented by my instructor. It was made in a B.E. 2b, an almost pre-war type of machine, which is hard to fly, especially in bumps. I have now done six hours on this machine and in a few days will go on to Avros which are steadier and easier to fly.

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A couple of days last week I was not quite up to the mark, and was not allowed to fly at all. That is one of the things they watch carefully in the Royal Flying School. No one is allowed to take a machine in the air unless in the pink of condition. All I had was a slight cold which gave me a stiff neck for a day or two.

Possibly you will be interested in a meagre description of afternoon flying. We have to be at the sheds at 4.10 p.m. In front of them runs a strip of tarred road surface fifty feet wide. On this the machines stand while waiting to go up; it is called the "Tarmac." We have a roll call at 4.15 p.m., and then sit in the sun on the tarmac with our "funny hat" and goggles. Presently a loud spluttering and then a deep hum from one of the forty machines lined up, is the signal for the commencement of the evening work. One of the instructors is going up to test the air. Up he goes, does a couple of circuits round the aerodrome, lands, and says: "2b pupils can wash out till six o'clock. Avros had better stay." This means that it is too bumpy for B.E. 2b's, but safe for Avros. Being a 2b artist, I go back to the mess or to my tent to read for an hour or so, and by the time I get there a dozen machines are in the air, and the throbbing hum of their engines is pretty loud. By the time I get well into my book the sound is no longer heard, although it is still there. One becomes unconscious of the racket, especially in the early morning, when one is lucky enough not to be on early flying, and can sleep peacefully through a row that would put an army of steel automatic rivetting machines to shame.

I go back to the sheds at six, and the air above the camp is thick with machines. In one place two Camels and a Pup are practicing aerial fighting, and are chasing each other up and down and around with all kinds of weird engine noises. Farther over and very high up five Avros are practising "formation flying"; keeping close together they are following their leader, who has a long streamer flying from his rudder. From the ground they resemble a small flock of birds, and they are so high that their engines cannot be heard above the hum of those below.

Quite near the ground a few pupils are practising land-

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ings, under the watchful eyes of their instructors, whose flow of language is surprisingly copious, should the landing prove a specially bad one.

Half a mile away, out in the centre of the aerodrome, a pupil is sitting in his machine. He has been careless in landing and has "lost his prop." In other words he has stalled his engine, and has to sit there till a mechanic can run out to start him up again. Needless to say, pupils who do this sort of thing frequently are most unpopular with the mechanics. Swinging a propellor is no easy task, but when it entails a half-mile walk at each end of the job, it is rather worse.

Over by the sheds a number of pupils are waiting their turn to go up. One of them in a machine is nervously running his engine preparatory to going up alone for the first time. His instructor is standing on the side of the machine watching the instruments and shouting directions. The engine is slowed down, and off goes the machine, first slowly over the grass till it reaches the centre of the aerodrome, then with roaring engine, and heading into the wind, it tears off the ground, rises and floats up and up till it becomes a speck five miles away. From this moment until fifteen minutes later when the machine again approaches the sheds, and prepares to land, is a trying time for the instructor, who can do nothing but look on. This pupil makes a fair landing, and proud as punch gets out of his machine and is told that he can "wash out" for the remainder of the evening.

I have been detailed to do a reconnaissance of two roads, each about ten miles long, with a view to their suitability for concealment of infantry from aircraft, facilities for watering horses, condition and traffic. In addition I have been shown two spots on a map and have been told to ascertain what is on the ground at these points.

I get in my machine, put on my leather cap and tie a pencil on the end of a string to my belt. Then I fold my map so that the spot I have to cover is visible, and then secure my map to my left leg above the knee with one of my garters. I do the same with a notebook on my right knee, and after a final polish of my goggles I am ready. The next three minutes is spent in testing the engine. This is found to be O.K. I wave

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my arm, do up my belt, the chocks are taken away from beneath my wheels, and I slowly taxi out, look round for other machines, then heading to wind I take off.

Up comes the tail, and over the ground I go for about 200 yards. When a speed of 50 miles an hour is reached the machine takes herself off the ground and starts to climb. When 1000 feet is reached I slow down slightly and fly level. Presently I reach one of the spots to be examined. It is between a road and a wood and appears to be nothing more than green grass. Nothing is unusual so the engine is shut off and down she goes to 400 feet, for a closer look. From this height I can just make out a newly dug hole about four feet in diameter and near it two more. I mark these on the map, make a note of their size and fly off in the direction of the other spot. To reach it I have to pass over a large wood and then some plowed fields, and expecting bumps from these, I climb to 1000 feet, before passing over them. But even then I feel them, and the old buss jumps around as if she were alive. The spot brings me over a farm. Again I come down to 400 feet and in the centre of the lawn in front of the farm house are two white strips. A "T" is quite plain and something resembling "H" was beside it. Hurried notes are made of these strips, and the machine is headed for R——, where the road reconnaissance is to begin. I have been told to do it from 4000 feet, but at 2000 I am getting into the clouds, and as the bumps from them are pretty bad, I come down to 1500 and do the scheme from there. The two roads, 16 miles, are done in fifteen minutes, hasty notes being made as I go. One of them I find much more suitable for the required purpose than the other, on account of woods and trees through which it runs. It also winds alongside the river, and consequently would be good for watering purposes.

At this stage, just as I am admiring the sunset, which is a gorgeous one, and am thinking it time to return to the aerodrome, my engine begins to splutter and gives signs of "conking out." This is because I have been up an hour and a half and have used up all the petrol in my top tank. So I begin pumping the supply from the reserve tank into the top one, and the engine, now quite satisfied, picks up and runs merrily

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again. There are few machines up now, as it is almost dinner time. It is beginning to get dark and as I am gliding down an occasional jet of flame from my exhaust can be seen. It gives a weird effect, especially from the ground.

Soon the grass is tearing along right under me. I feel the wheels running along it, and the next minute I am undoing my belt and getting rid of my map, notebook and goggles. The machine is left to the care of the mechanics, and I am off to the mess to eat a huge dinner, and then to roll into bed, rather tired after two hours in the air.

At the Central Flying School, 23rd Sept., 1917. I have just begun solo on Avros, having done about 15 hours very successful flying on Hunguffins without smashing a single thing. Rather a record I think. I am very pleased in consequence. Avros are quite different to fly. They are stable in the air, practically fly themselves, and if they get into a nasty position, come out of it themselves. The other busses I have been on will not do this, and are not so safe; I am glad I am through with them.

I got lost this morning for the first time. Five machines went up together to fly in formation. I was the second on the right. After we had been up for a while we all got into a cloud, and as a precaution against getting too close to the rest, I put my nose down and came out of it. I could not find the others anywhere, and we were miles away from the aerodrome. I did not recognize any of the surrounding country. If I had not had my compass, I should have had to land, and ask where I was, as I had no map with me. By steering south I came to a town I recognized as being L——. This relieved me very much. I knew the way from there and in twenty minutes regained the "drome." I was glad I did not have to land, as it makes one feel so foolish to ask where you are, and have some yokel volunteer the information that you are in Master Brown's field. When I got back to the aerodrome it was just in time to catch up with the rest of the flight and we all landed together in perfect formation. I enjoyed this morning's flip, as in formation all one does is to keep one's eyes on the leader,

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and do just as he does. If one gets engine trouble, one has to drop out, but that does not happen often.

During the week fifteen American soldiers arrived here to be trained as Ack Emmas (air mechanics). To-night we had two American officers in the mess.

At the Central Flying School, 6th October, 1917. I am beginning my weekly letter on Saturday for a change. One reason is because it is cold and dark outside to-night, and another, I am detailed for duty tomorrow as Squadron Orderly Officer, and I shall be fairly busy all day.

Yesterday our canvas camp in the pretty pine grove was struck and now I am sharing a small panelled room in a wooden hut with Lieutenant Hemsworth, an Irish boy who is one of our four.

Since I came to C Squadron a week ago I have done very little flying, I have been in the air less than three hours. This has been mainly due to the wet windy weather, and partly to the fact that the Squadron is over-crowded at present, so, having done an hour's flying each chap is "washed out" for the remainder of the day in order to allow the others a chance to use the busses. I made a special effort to get transferred to C, because I like the machine from which C men graduate. It is a tiny one with a stationary engine and can fly level at 120 miles an hour and dive at 200. I am still on Avros, not being ready yet for this new buss.

This morning I was cold in the air for the first time. I went up before breakfast, and did an hour buzzing in and out among the clouds; to get clear of them I had to go up to 5000 feet, nearly a mile, and although it was all blue and gold up there, with snowy white in a great saucer below me, yet it was bitterly cold. When I came down I dived through gaps in the clouds when I could find them, as it is unsafe to fly straight through thick clouds for fear of collision. I got down in time to get a couple of eggs some bacon, toast and coffee. They tasted fine and soon warmed me up again. I did not fly again today, and with the exception of an hour at machine guns I had the rest of the day to myself.

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I have been enjoying the change from B.E. 2B machines to Avros. After fifteen hours on the former I got very confident in them, yet they have not the steadiness and power which an Avro possesses. The latter has a 100 horse power rotary engine; and it is great fun taking off. The machine rolls over the ground faster and faster, your instrument shows her going 20, then 30, 40 and 50 miles an hour. About this point she leaves the ground. You do not feel her rising much, and are never conscious of the exact minute the wheels leave the earth. But as soon as you do, the speed suddenly jumps to 60 or 70 miles an hour. Even at this speed she is climbing, and when you shove her nose down so that she is flying level she will do 80 miles an hour quite easily. The pilot is not conscious of these speeds. The speed indicator, mounted on the instrument board in front of his knees, alone lets him know the difference between 40 and 80 miles. This along with the "rev." counter, which shows how fast the engine is revolving, and the altimeter, a barometer which shows the height in 1000's of feet, are the three chief instruments found on every aeroplane. An Avro will climb to a height equal to the City Hall tower at home, in less than two minutes from the time it commences running over the ground taking off.

I have spoken of the disagreeable bumps in the air near the ground, and in the vicinity of clouds. This machine is so well designed that bumps need hardly be considered by the pilot. They chuck his machine about, and would do this to any buss made, but an Avro corrects these herself, and the pilot does not have to be continually waggling the stick about as he does on a B.E. 2B.

When the engine is shut off and the nose of the machine is pointed towards the earth, in order to come down, the beginner usually gets a horrible sinking feeling about the stomach. This sensation entirely disappears as one does more and more flying, and now I never notice it in the slightest degree. Gliding back to earth is probably the most pleasing sensation of any. An Avro will glide down at 70 miles an hour with the engine off, without the pilot's hands touching any of the controls. During the glide the machine can be made to turn in any direction, do a straight glide, or come down like a soaring

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bird in a spiral. The latter is a useful mode of getting into a small field from a point directly above it.

It may interest you to know that I flew an Avro for 20 minutes the other day with both hands in my pockets, and then only took hold of the stick because it was time to land. Does not this speak well for the stability of the Avro? Even if the engine stops all the machine does is to glide slowly to earth, keeping the correct gliding angle herself.

At the Central Flying School, 18th October, 1917. Royal Flying Corps (Officers) Graduation Certificate No. 8476. This is to certify that Second Lieutenant R. W. Maclennan, C Squadron, General List, has completed a course at the Central Flying School and is qualified for service in the Royal Flying Corps. I. A. Strange, Lieut.-Colonel, Asst. Commandant.

Central Flying School, 28th October, 1917. I have finished with Moranes and am now flying the wonderful S.E. 5 machine. This is the type I am to fly in France. The first solo was an ordeal as the tremendously powerful Hispano-Suizia 200 h.p. motor tends all the time to pull the machine to the right, and to counteract this the pilot has to keep the left rudder on all the time. I managed my first solo without accident of any kind. These are our fastest single seater scout machines at present. They can fly level at 120 miles per hour and are strong enough to be dived at 200. The motor is heavy and consequently the machine cannot be chucked about in the air so readily as a Sopwith Camel. The S.E. 5 can be made to do vertical banks, climbing turns, spins, side-slips and loops. On account of the heavy engine they have to fly fast through the air to keep from dropping, and consequently must be landed at great speed, less than 70 miles an hour is unsafe for landing. They are absolutely inherently stable and will fly for hours with "hands off" the controls. This was a great comfort after a Morane, which has to be flown by the pilot every minute. They will ramble along at 100 miles per hour and the pilot can warm his hands by placing them in his pockets, or he can open out and study a map, or make notes, write letters or read. The cockpit is so well enclosed and pro-

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tected from the rush of air that the pilot sits in comparative comfort and can if necessary remove and clean his goggles, an impossibility in a Morane.

While training in England I found that with an S.E. 5 I could catch up to any other machine with ease, and of course could run away from them too, if I so desired. No greater sport can be imagined than a practice flight with another S.E. The main object is to approach the opponent from behind. This is done either by diving from above, or climbing from below so that his machine prevents him from seeing you. If one gets too close behind, the rear machine is tossed about like a cork by the wash from the other propellor. One must be careful not to get too close, as the pursuer gets out of control temporarily, and the pursued is able to get away.

A record of practice flights is secured by a dummy machine gun rigidly fixed to the aeroplane. It contains in its barrel a camera, and when the sights show a good position on the tail of your opponent, you press the gun trigger, and if the aim is correct you have a picture of the other machine. The gun is timed by steering your machine till your opponent's buss appears in your telescopic sight. Can you imagine anything more exciting, a cloudless day and two machines chasing each other, round and round and up and down, a mile high most of the time. I have seldom come down after a flight cold. I find the chief problem is to keep from getting too warm inside one's leather flying kit.

This reminds me, that as we only do five hours on S.E.'s here, I shall in all probability be in France next Sunday, and so my weekly letter will I suppose be dated Somewhere in France. The Central Flying School has been a good old home to me since July and it will be quite a wrench to me to leave it.

At the Camp, 29th October, 1917. On the eve of my departure for the Expeditionary Force in France to serve in the Royal Flying Corps, I am making a few notes which will, I trust, be forwarded to my father in Canada, in the event of any casualty occurring to me within the next few months.

Going as I almost certainly shall to a Scout Squadron, I am fully aware of the hazardous nature of the work to be done,

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and the almost certainty of some mishap befalling me sooner or later.

The present system of aerial fighting necessitates several friendly machines always flying in a formation or small compact group, which reduces to a very large extent the risks of one of their number being brought down. Even if one should be brought down the other members of the formation can usually see what has happened and can give a fairly accurate report as to whether the pilot has been killed or has managed to land his machine fairly intact. Consequently if I should fall during an aerial combat, my colleagues ought to be able to furnish a report which would relieve doubt and possibly a long period of anxiety to those at home.

Information concerning a casualty should be sought from two sources: (1) the War Office, London, (2) the Officer Commanding the Squadron B.E.F., France.

Risks and hazards of the R.F.C. may be great but when one is engaged as a member of a fighting force, it is a consolation to know, that he is one of the *Senior Service* of fighting armies, and as a scout pilot is probably one of the highest trained and most effective units of the whole army. He sees more of what is going on than any other soldier. He is entrusted with a machine worth £3000. He does not have to put up with the heart-breaking conditions of mud and wet under the rest of the army labours, and he is extremely well paid.

In addition to this a scout pilot is, one might say, a pioneer (for the flying game is still in its infancy) in that branch of the service which will ultimately cause the final downfall of Prussian Militarism with all its hateful consequences.

The machine on which I have been trained in England is the best scout machine which the British Corps at present possesses.

My present property consists of: (Kit, etc. etc.).

If I am killed I should like my family to know that ever since I enlisted in 1916 my thoughts have ever been with them, and while at times I have been very weary of the war, I never regretted the step I took in donning uniform.

London, 2nd November, 1917. Much as I expected to be

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in France when I wrote you last, the fates took a hand in things, and as a result you will get another Sunday letter written in England.

After a short flight last Sunday my engine gave a little trouble, with the result that I made a rather bad landing, breaking the under carriage of my buss and bumping my head against the back of the seat. I thought nothing of the jolt at the time, but our doctor who heard about it told me not to fly for a day or two, and about five hours later I was glad of this, as the muscles of my neck stiffened up. This lasted three days but has now disappeared. The doctor is a good old sort, and hinted at leave, which I applied for and got, so now I am in London.

At the Camp, 10th November, 1917. Yesterday I had my first flight in ten days, and for fear I might have forgotten how to fly or land, I was sent up in an Avro. I got on well enough it seems, so to-day I was put back on S.E.'s and had a fine hour fighting Hemsworth, who was up in another S.E. We had a pretty good scrap, which consisted solely of manœuvring for positions. I had the best buss and managed to beat him rather badly. After we tired of this we went to P——, and dived on trains on the Great Western Railway. As most of them were freight or "goods" trains, and could not do over 40 miles an hour, we found it rather slow and came home. Doesn't it sound thrilling to have a fast enough mode of travel to make chasing trains dull sport?

At the Camp, 17th November, 1917. I was amused to hear mother speak of the times you are having to economize in certain articles of food. Over here things are rather critical, and sugar and tea are so scarce that when one is invited out for a meal, and asks for sugar for his tea, the family produce it from some strong box, and the guest usually finds that every one else refuses sugar, with a saint-like expression on their faces. Bacon, butter and chocolate are all dear and hard to get at any price. Boots are a dreadful price.

I was interested to hear about Bishop's performances at Camp Borden. He has certainly done wonders in France. By

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the way, he was turned out at the Central Flying School, and is a good example of what the school can produce. On his way back to Canada he stopped here for a day or two, and on several occasions performed for our benefit on an S.E. 5. He did nothing, however, that the rest of us cannot do. He quite deserves any fuss that may be made over him at home. He has done enough at the front to earn a rest, and I think will be given an instructional post in England on his return. There are so many pilots now, that after they have done about four months in France, nearly all are returned to England as instructors, so I may be back here again before so very long.

These cold nights produce heavy mists in the mornings and as a result we have no flying before eleven. Flying is not very pleasant when it is hazy, and it is hard to see objects from a greater height than 1000 feet. Under 1000 feet it is not safe except with careful flying, and this becomes monotonous day after day. To-day I went up to fly formation with my instructor. My object was to keep as close to his machine as possible, and I managed to get pretty close. He became disgusted with the mist, and much to my annoyance began looping the loop. Needless to say I could hardly do this too as the machines were too close to make it safe, so I dived and landed. When he came down he explained that he was looping as a signal that the weather was too "dud" to make formation worth while, and that he was going back to the aerodrome.

France, 24th November, 1917. Long before this reaches you I hope you will have received my wire sent yesterday from London. We left London on the "leave" train in the gray dawn early this morning, and reached the port of embarkation (a town I well know) without event. We had a rough crossing, but as it was not raining we remained on the top deck and managed not to be ill, although a lot of the chaps were pretty sick. We had a great hunt claiming our baggage, and had quite a chance to jabber what small amount of French we knew. Hemsworth and I go to our Squadron by train to-night.

No. 60 Squadron, R.F.C., B.E.F., France, 28th November,

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1917. I last wrote you on Saturday from Boulogne. I have reached the Squadron which is to be my new home for some time to come.

I left Boulogne by train some time after midnight, and we travelled by jerks all night long in a French railway carriage, minus blinds, windows, doors and lights. Our destination was a small station somewhere in Flanders, and as we did not know exactly how far away it was we had to keep a sharp lookout, after the first four hours, in case we should run past it in the dark. I had just dozed off to sleep again when we reached our little station. We tumbled out and ran half a mile down the track to the door of the luggage van and pulled out our own kit, and threw it off the train, just as it commenced to move again.

The next thing was to get in touch with our aerodrome, which we did by telephone. While waiting for the tender we went to the village in search of breakfast. This we found at the *Café France*, a sort of officers' club, run by a Belgian woman. We got a fairly decent meal of scrambled eggs, bread and coffee. The way the French prepare coffee gives it a peculiar taste, but not an unpleasant one.

When the tender came we collected our kit and started on a long cold ride to the aerodrome, which we reached in three-quarters of an hour. The first thing was to report to the Squadron Commander, a Captain who last summer had been one of my instructors. He was in temporary command in the absence of the Major, who was on leave, but has since returned. When we went to the mess we ran into a lot more of Central Flying School boys, who had been there in our time. There are about 24 officers in the squadron and more than half of these are Canadians, so I feel quite at home. As a newcomer I shall not get much flying during the first fortnight. I shall do all I can round the aerodrome for practice, so that when the time comes for me to go over the line I shall know something about it.

Of all the S.E. 5 squadrons in France, we seem to have struck the best. It is one which has done exceedingly well in the past. Both the late Captain Ball and Major Bishop belonged to it, and there have been fewer casualties than in any

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other similar squadron. Having had so few, the chaps have been in the game a long time, and so have had wide experience, and this is bound to be of inestimable benefit to new people. The aerodrome is a good twenty miles behind the line, and is practically immune from shell fire. None have landed anywhere near for months.

You ought to see our quarters. I share a hut with three others and we have lots of room. The huts are like half a barrel laid on the ground; the curved roof is corrugated iron and the ends are wood. We have several tables, comfortable chairs, our camp beds and innumerable rugs on the floor. A coal stove and an oil stove give plenty of heat, and petrol lamps give excellent light. I have not had such comfortable permanent quarters since leaving Canada, and yet we are within sound range of the guns which never cease. I was able to bring over practically every article of kit I possessed. An infantry officer would have had to leave nine-tenths of it behind.

One great comfort is that here we can wear just exactly what we like. We can come to breakfast in pajamas and wear comfortable old clothes all day long. Puttees I am discarding for good and in their place will wear long stockings. They have always been an abomination, as their tightness stops circulation and induces cold. We do not wear belts and can fly in sweaters. In fact it will be a long summer holiday with lots of excitement thrown in. Leave comes round every three months, and lasts for fourteen days.

France, 9th December, 1917. Since last Sunday I have been waiting, waiting, waiting for a flight, and not till last Thursday did I get it. The day was cloudy and the visibility poor. Hemsworth and I were to have a practice flight, and we spent about twenty minutes at it. When we finished I had lost sight of the aerodrome, and so had he, for I could see him flying aimlessly one way and then another, diving on one hill and then on several more. As our aerodrome is near a town perched on a high hill, I knew what he was looking for, but none of the hills seemed to be the right one. After that he turned and flew east for a time, and although I knew such a

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course would take us into Hunland, I followed, deciding to go with him as far as the trenches, and then turn west again; just our side of the line I spotted a town which I recognized from the great relief map we had at Oxford. It is a town which has undergone more shelling than any other during the whole war. I never saw such a sight of desolation. Nothing but shell holes in all directions. Practically all the buildings in ruins, and every now and then a shell would burst in the desolate City with a blinding flash. Of course I could hear nothing of the explosion. I knew my way back to the aerodrome and felt much relieved, as it is most undignified to get lost on one's first flip. I opened my engine and soon caught up to the other machine, and signalled Hemsworth to turn around and follow me. We were at the aerodrome twenty minutes later. The flight took place last Thursday. I have not been in the air since owing to a temporary shortage of machines.

The little town, near our aerodrome, perched on a high hill, has a fine square, from which a beautiful church can be seen, and the square and streets are cobbled. The road which leads into the town from the east, enters through a short tunnel, which emerges right into the square itself. When I was last there several howitzer batteries were coming from the line for a rest, and the caterpillar tractors, which haul these huge guns, were grunting and chugging from the tunnel into the town, and through it, making for some spot further to the rear. All units, which come out of the trenches for a rest, are sent far enough back to be out of earshot of the guns. The Casino at the highest part of the town is devoted to military purposes. From it a wonderful view of the western front may be had, puffs of smoke in the distance, captive sausage observation balloons, aeroplanes and roads teeming with hundreds and hundreds of motor lorries slowly crawling along. A batch of miserable looking German prisoners were engaged in cleaning the streets. Their appearance gave the impression that they must have been reduced to sorry straits before capture, as they all looked white, pinched and sickly. I think they are pretty fairly treated by our people and certainly given enough to eat.

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Speaking of food reminds me that you may be interested to know that we do pretty well in our mess. I quote from our ordinary dinner menu:—Soup, mock turtle, toast; Fish, grilled sole, mustard sauce; Entree, beefsteak, pastry, boiled potatoes, green peas; Sweets, stewed prunes, cornstarch pudding, biscuits, cheese, coffee. Does this satisfy you? It does me.

We have the correct number of machines, six in each flight, and there are three flights, A. B. and C. I am in B. flight. There are eighteen pilots, an equipment officer who is also Quartermaster, a Recording Officer (adjutant) and the Commanding Officer. So we have twenty two in our mess.

Lunch is served at one o'clock. Sometimes I have spent the afternoons walking into the nearby town. Tea is at four p.m. and now it is dark at that time. After tea we read or play cards till dinner at 7.30. After dinner some music. By the way, we have a rag time band, composed of a piano, a snare drum, two sets of bones, a triangle and brass cymbals and an auto horn. It is "some" band. We all go to bed fairly early.

France, 16th December, 1917. The past week has been an easy one for the squadron. I have only been in the air a few times. Quite recently a certain town not far off was under shell fire for two days. On the first fine day after this we sent up machines to a great height above the town, in order to catch the Hun airmen, who we felt certain would come over to take photographs of the damage done. Sure enough one solitary Hun came over, but I think he got the fright of his life for three of our machines chased him all the way back to Hunland, but were unable to bring him down. He did not get his photographs though.

I came in a few minutes ago from a game of football which our squadron played against No. 57. We were pretty badly beaten, but had a lot of good exercise out of it.

You will be interested to know that I am going to have some riding. When cavalry horses up in front need a rest they are sent back for a few months to units well back from the trenches. We have three at the aerodrome and the day before yesterday I plucked up courage and went for my first ride. I expected to be chucked off, but by hanging on with

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one hand to the saddle, I got an idea of how to trot, and before the afternoon was out I had done twelve miles, had several canters and a good gallop and managed to stay on all the time. During our ride we passed through the heavy traffic of a large town, where snorting lorries and puffing caterpillar tractors made the horses nervous and unpleasantly lively. When I got back I learned that I had been riding the liveliest of the three beasts, which has given me confidence for my next attempt.

As I write it is 6 p.m. on Sunday. There is a roaring fire in the stove. Five chaps are playing cards and one other is reading on his bed. Every two weeks or so when I am an orderly officer, I censor the mail for the N.C.O.'s and men. We of course censor our own letters.

France, 17th December, 1917. To friends in Oxford. Thanks ever so much for the pocket dictionary and excellent little French Grammar. I am pleased with both and have already spent some time in their company. I had an amusing experience in connection with the language a few days ago. I had a chance to go to St. Omer and one of the things I wanted to buy was a coal shovel for the stove in our hut. After poking through the darkened streets I found what seemed to be an iron monger's shop. I could not remember the French for "shovel" although I knew that coal was "charbon." Hoping that madame might understand some English I repeated the English word "shovel" several times coupling it with "charbon," and waited developments. She triumphantly appeared in a minute or two with a toy-horse and coal cart, and seemed quite surprised when I assured her that I was not in need of a "cheval."

Have not been doing much work lately, chiefly because of bad weather. This morning I did start off on an offensive patrol, but came limping back twenty minutes later with engine trouble, and barely managed to get into the aerodrome.

Entry in Pilot's Flying Log Book, 18th December, 1917. First patrol over lines, nine enemy aeroplanes seen, four engaged, time 7.25 a.m., absent one hour and 20 minutes on an S.E. 5.

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

On Christmas day, 1917, the War Office cabled to his father:—"Deeply regret to inform you 2/Lt. R. W. Maclellan, R.F.C., 60th Squadron, died of wounds December twenty-third. The Army Council express their sympathy." This was followed by letters from the officers of the 60th Squadron in France, informing his parents that on returning from a patrol over the lines and while gliding into the aerodrome, his engine stalled and he could not regain flying speed and fell vertically to the ground. One of these letters contained in a sealed envelope the message which he had prepared in October to be sent home in the event of any serious casualty. His remains were buried the day following the accident in the Communal Cemetery near Hazebrouck in France by the Rev. G. R. Trussell, a Methodist Chaplain attached to No. 15 Casualty Clearing Station B.E.F.

In addition to personal tributes from old friends the following came from his new friends, though strangers to his parents:—I have just received confirmation from the War Office of the notice which I saw in the papers telling of "Mac" being killed in action. No news of all the war has affected me in the way this news has. He and I were together as the closest of friends all the time from the day we enlisted till the day he left for his commission in the R.F.C. That is why—knowing him as I did—I am proud to say that he died in the fighting a thorough Christian gentleman. Never for an instant, in all the year and a half we were together, did he depart from his home taught Christian principles, and thus became even a stronger man for mastering the many temptations to which all soldiers are subjected.

Out of the Oxford home where he and others had received untold kindness, came this message:—Your letter with the few lines about the Maclellans moves me to send you a note about them. Their losing Ward is such a terrible tragedy. An only son, and such a son. From the first minute he came to the house he was just like one of ourselves, interested in everything we were doing, considerate, thoughtful, friendly, cheerful, everything that could make one glad to see him come and sorry to see him go, and so capable and keen and plucky. We miss him badly ourselves, and from the way he

A FLYING OFFICER'S TRAINING

talked about his home, I can guess dimly what it means for them all. Healthy, happy, and made to be the source of happiness for others, the waste seems unbearable. I can't write all this to his mother, but if you have a chance of making her or his sister understand how much we valued, and admired him, I hope you will. I can't bear to hear the aeroplanes overhead, nor to think of any other friend going into the air service. But that isn't a feeling I shall give way to longer than I can help.

From a London home, where he called but once shortly before he left from France, his hostess, a lady of some eighty years, wrote:—Oh you know how truly grieved and shocked we feel at the terrible news just come to-day. It is almost impossible to believe that that strong looking, bright young creature has left this world, when so lately, so lately it seems, he was here so happy and full of life and energy. He told me to tell you how he had grown, so tall and broad shouldered, that he hardly thought you would know him again. We spoke of all the wonders of the Universe that have been discovered since I was born, of the number even since he was born, and I said I thought it was proof of how our Heavenly Father was educating us for a Higher life than this when we shall learn even more and more of science and beauty and love and truth; and how God might have told man all at once, but he gave him the joy of using his God-like powers to discover electricity, wireless telegraphy, everything we know, and your dear son looked so reverend and thoughtful and said:—"Oh yes, it is true, how we have progressed, how we have learned, but how much we have still to learn even here. You can't think what it is to be high up in the sky, what thoughts one has." I thought that all you who knew and loved him so would like to hear what he said.

From a brother Lieutenant, five years his junior, who had been with him in the Flying School and had accompanied him to France, came a shy estimate of his departed friend, with its significant touch of the hereafter:—I am not an atom of use writing these sort of letters. I think you will understand me when I say that "Mac" was certainly my best pal in the army.

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

However there is no use being mournful about it, he is far happier *where he is*.

From Buckingham Palace came a note of regret signed by the Keeper of the Privy Purse. The King and Queen deeply regret to hear of the loss you and the Army have sustained by the death of your son in the service of his country; and I am commanded to convey to you the expression of Their Majesties' true sympathy with you in your sorrow.

R. J. MACLENNAN.

HOME RULE IN ZANTE.

JAMES Callander of Craigforth was one of two adventurers who took advantage of the last European chaos, a century ago, to set up as independent rulers. The other, a seaman called Jorgen Jorgensen, imposed himself upon remote Iceland and held his place till the news penetrated to Europe and a British frigate tardily ejected him. But Callander chose a central stage in Zante, and pitted his skill against more than one great power for seven months. He disappeared at last to the regret of his turbulent subjects, who had rarely enjoyed such comparative tranquillity. Ruler and ruled were well matched, for if Zante was a nest of assassins, half a century of intrigue and adventure had fitted Callander for his greatest *coup*.

Born in 1745, the year of the Jacobite rising, he had been pitchforked into the Seven Years War as a mere lad, and perfected himself in the craft of adventurer in Italy and those flashy and sordid little German courts which men of his kind from Barry Lyndon to Roy Richmond found to be congenial haunts. Sir Walter Scott remembered him in Edinburgh as a 'blackleg and swindler of the first water,' who, like Pistol, did "Somewhat lean to cut purse of quick hand." But he was 'a very handsome, plausible man. Of all good breeding that of a swindler of good education (be it understood) is the most perfect.' This testimony sheds light on incidents in his garrulous but not too indiscreet autobiography.¹ Seeing a lady in a London theatre, he wagered that he would marry her offhand, and won the bet. Her successor was the daughter of an Irish Marquis, with whom he eloped. Matters were arranged with her family, but his short and merry career in Dublin ended with a too successful duel. He had to fly the country, and disappeared on the Continent. Rumour was busy with his conduct during the French Revolution, but we

¹Memoirs of Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglass, 2 volumes.

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

may turn to surer ground. His great chance came in 1801, when Zante proclaimed her independence.

Up to 1797 Venice had been mistress of the Ionian Isles, which then fell as spoil to Napoleon. After the battle of the Nile the French in turn were expelled by Russians and Turks, who gave them a republican constitution—strange gift from such a source! While each island had its own local presidency or council, a federal senate at Corfu was to govern the Septinsular Republic. But the constitution remained an ideal without force, as the islands one by one broke away and plunged into bitter faction.² Each noble set up as a petty tyrant, and the struggles of democrat and aristocrat rivalled the feuds of ancient Corcyra. In this welter the help of outside powers was eagerly sought, and the Turk added another horror to the general misery. "Such in fact were the events, oh Corcyreans, which marked the days of the past year, when with pain and anguish you went pale and trembling to your wall, to see on which side the flames were approaching to reduce your home to ashes, and to destroy your lands and your property. No one dared to show his face out of the gates; but shut up within your walls you lent a sorrowful ear to learn from others what devastation had overtaken their property and your own."¹ These words, which might have been uttered by a contemporary of Thucydides, describe the anarchy of the years after the French had been expelled. When Dodwell the traveller landed in Corfu in 1801 he had to wait only two hours for a fight to break out, in which Greeks, Turks, and Russians bore a part.² The Senate did its share by passing an amnesty, which no one desired, and forbidding the bearing of arms—a decree which no one in that land of assassins even thought of obeying. But then the Senate never did anything except elect new Presidents and frame more perfect constitutions. Dodwell had the impression that senators feared their own villagers even more than the Turks. Assassination was an in-

²Rodocanachi, *Bonaparte et les Iles Ioniennes*.

¹Speech of Count Mocenigo to the Senate of Corfu, 29th August, 1803.

²Dodwell, *Travels* (27th May, 1801).

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stitution which their Venetian rulers had regarded little more seriously than the islanders.³ At Palma Nova the French had found one man registered as serving ten years in prison for ten assassinations, while another had been condemned to double the time for speaking ill of the *Potestat*.⁴ A lady in Santa Maura told Callander that her husband had unfortunately fallen in love with his cousin. So she asked the cousin to stay with them, and then 'we poisoned her, and afterwards we were very happy.' It is to Callander's credit that he was able to raise one island from chaos to some kind of order and prosperity.

Callander's own account of his advent is engagingly simple. It is that Nelson himself recommended him to go and strike at French influence there. Armed with a proclamation from Nelson, he states that he secured Lord Keith's¹ assent and sailed from Malta to Zante. There he found the inhabitants in arms, which a persuasive speech in Italian induced them to lay down. Striking while the iron was hot, he published Nelson's proclamation and at once raised the British flag, which remained over Zante till the peace of Amiens. Now Nelson left the Mediterranean on July 13th, 1800; the flag was not hoisted till February 8th, 1801, and then secretly in the dead of night. It was lowered amid great ceremony and Callander departed without ostentation in September, 1801, long before the peace was concluded. Clearly this story about Nelson is the fiction of an old man, who may have visited the court of Naples, when Nelson listened to the sirens, but unluckily had forgotten his dates or trusted that his public would never remember them. He did less than justice to his own skill and audacity, but the archives of the Senate enable us to render him his due.²

³In Zante alone, with a population of 38,000, the rate of assassination was over 200 a year.

⁴General de Vaudoncourt, *Memoirs of the Ionian Islands* (1816). *Potestat* was the local title for the Mayor.

¹Lord Keith was then British Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean.

²The *Dictionary of National Biography* merely accepts his own inaccurate account, and is mainly interested in the matrimonial cause

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Callander seems to have arrived in Zante from the Morea about the New Year.³ What was he doing in the six weeks before the flag was raised? The most powerful and dangerous man on the island was one Martinengo, a bastard, who was then plotting to shake off the control of the Senate at Corfu. This worthy must have been useful to the Venetian Government, for an order from the Doge conferred on him immunity from any criminal charges brought in Zante. When the Russians entered, old habit was too much for him; he tried to blow up the Presidency. He was condemned to death and had to

célèbre which entangled him in extreme old age. My chief authority is the documented *History of the Ionian Isles* by Maurogiannes.

³I append an account given in the House of Commons by Mr. Leslie Foster fifteen years later (21 May, 1816): 'A most horrible civil war arose in the island between the democratic and aristocratic parties. At length the inhabitants were so fatigued with the contest, together with that of the struggle between Cephalonia and Corfu for the seat of power, that in the year preceding the treaty of Amiens the inhabitants of Zante had come to the resolution of sending a deputation to the country to invite us to take possession of their islands that they might be under our protection. By a singular coincidence, before the answer could be received, an English officer, travelling in the Morea, probably for his pleasure, heard of this circumstance, and conceiving that he could turn it to advantage, landed on the island, and said the British Government had sent him to take possession of it. He was accordingly received as governor, and it is but right to say of him that he administered justice with mercy and performed every function with propriety, except that of communicating with the British Government. He continued in this situation for eleven [sic] months, and it was the opinion of everybody on the island that this was the happiest year they had ever known. When the combined Russian and Turkish fleets arrived to take possession of the islands, they occasioned the first doubt the British consul ever had that this person was not a recognized officer. He would perhaps have been put to death by the Turks, but he had the good fortune to escape in a boat.' This account is inaccurate in some points, and shows no knowledge of Callander's unofficial six weeks on the island. I append another contemporary view. A *Quarterly* reviewer writes: 'By way of maintaining himself in power, Martinengo pretended to be in communication with the British Government, and hoisted the flag of that nation. A Colonel Callander [sic], once of some notoriety, acted the part of delegate from the British Government, and the farce was successfully played for nine [sic] months. . . .'

HOME RULE IN ZANTE

buy himself off. While his accomplice (who no doubt had less wealth) was duly shot, Martinengo became a member of the Presidency himself. He now found in Callander an accomplice who would further his plans to seize the power in Zante. If the commanders of the Russian and Turkish ships at Corfu could be brought to believe that Great Britain had some interest in Zante, they might refrain from aiding the Senate for a time—and time was what the conspirators desired. Again the French partisans in Zante would be overawed,⁴ since the sea lay between them and Marshal Lannes in Italy. The Zan-teans understood the meaning of sea-power, as an address that the Presidi sent to Nelson after the battle of the Nile plainly shows,¹ and there was a strong English party in the island. There need be little doubt that Callander privately made play with Nelson's name, although the conditions of the plot did not allow him to publish a proclamation. The pair were too shrewd to take any overt step; a situation was simply to occur, and then they were to be drawn in by force of circumstances. This explains the comedy of the British Flag.

On the morning of February 9th it was found to be flying over the citadel.² None knew what hands had raised it in the night, and none dared to remove it. Two days later a Turkish frigate appeared in harbour with Di Silla, the envoy of the Senate. It was now time for Callander to come on the scene. He at once proceeded to the ship with the English

⁴This part of the adventure was the easier, as French sympathizers had left the island in a crowd upon the advent of the Russians (Rodo-canachi).

¹"These Seas were rendered free; the Imperial combined Fleets descended, and, from that moment, the august voice s of Religion, or Nature, of Justice, and of Humanity were, without terror, heard amongst us; our hearts, kindled by the sacred flame of gratitude, consecrate to you a Sword and a Truncheon; accept of them, generous hero. . ." The sword bore the legend *Phario Victori Zacynthus*. Miss Knight's *Journal* notes: "They are warmly attached to the English name."

²ἐπὶ τοῦ φρουρίου τῆς Ζακύνθου ὑψοῦτο ἀπροσδοκῆτως καὶ κλοπιμαίως οὕτως εἰπεῖν ἑτέρα τῆς ἐθνικῆς σημείας ἡ Ἀγγλική. *Maurogiannes I.* 355.

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Consul (a mere cipher) and handed Di Silla a letter from the Presidency with the information that some unknown people had raised the flag over the citadel three days previously. Callander disclaimed any knowledge of the act, and assured Di Silla that he had no official authority, but as a major in the British army and a peer he was bound to see that the flag was respected. His assumed rank and the presence of the Consul produced the expected effect on Di Silla, who consented to parley. He asked if it would not suffice to haul down the flag with the honours of war. Callander gravely promised that the point should be brought before the Presidi, and returned to the shore. In a second interview he assured Di Silla that mature consideration had shown him the impossibility of any such plan, and that no one less than Lord Elgin at Constantinople could decide the proper course.³ The next step was to manoeuvre Di Silla out of the island. The Presidi assured him that they could not answer for his life if he landed, and then set the mob on his house to show that they meant what they said. A troubled night was followed by more warnings, and still more riots. The transport with soldiers which Di Silla expected from Corfu appeared in harbour, only to sail back, as the mob refused to let them land. Finally a cannon was dragged before the house. It was time for Callander to appear as the *deus ex machina*. He burst into the house and besought Di Silla to fly at once. They passed through the crowd in safety (a proof of good stage management) and Di Silla was rowed out to the frigate in a great storm, puzzled, as he says, why a general slaughter should be threatened on account of one flag. If Di Silla had been less occupied with the mob, he might have observed that the captain of the frigate had private dealings with Callander and some of the Presidency. No doubt this accounts for the suspicious ease

³The British ambassador. He told the story to Sir Walter Scott at an Edinburgh dinner-party many years after. 'At one time, Lord Elgin assured us, he seized upon the island of Zante, as he pretended, by direct authority from the English Government, and reigned there very quietly for some months, until, to appease the jealousy of the Turks, Lord Elgin despatched a frigate to dethrone the new sovereign' (Scott, *Journal*, 6 Dec., 1826).

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with which the frigate was induced to return to Corfu. The conspirators had now gained their immediate ends without compromising themselves irretrievably, and Callander's conduct had been a model of tact and correctness. As he said to Di Silla, he was led to intervene by "a pure feeling of humanity."⁴

He now found himself the idol of the Zanteans, who made him military governor, in command of an irregular force of Albanians and Italians. With a happy adaptability, he tells us, he combined the cross and the crescent on the flag of the new state, and this might be the symbol of his dealings with his mixed subjects. He reconstituted the Presidency by adding some commercial and agricultural members. In the eyes of Zantean Anglophiles the new body bore a speaking likeness to the British Constitution. Next he chose out a Count Calamaro, who was worth £3,000 a year, and determined to show the might of British justice. Whether this man had too much political influence or too much money, or whether his record of seventeen assassinations was excessive even for Zante we need not speculate. Calamaro fled to the mainland, but not beyond the reach of Callander's long arm. He sent the Turkish Governor of Navarino a present of some old honey-combed guns, and mentioned casually that a British subject of bad character had taken refuge in his Excellency's domain. Calamaro was sent back to Zante, and was "instantly shot in front of the main guard of the garrison." Martinengo must have congratulated himself on choosing the right party. Here is an instance of his milder vein. 'I was,' he observes, 'of course regular in my public devotions, and did not omit the observance of any ceremony which was consistent with the station in which I was placed at the head of the government.' After attending a service conducted by the Pope of Zante, who was the chief French adherent, he walked up to the padre, kissed his hand, and told him that he had seen his last letter to Marshal Lannes, and that he would be hanged for the next.

Meanwhile Foresti, the British Consul at Corfu, was begged by the Senate to take action, but would assume no

⁴*Relazione del di Silla*, 19th Feb., 1801.

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responsibility beyond reporting the fact to Lord Elgin.¹ The Ambassador answered at the end of March denouncing the men who had used the British flag to screen their own misdeeds.² But it was still open to the conspirators to raise the question of authority. Foresti admitted to the Senate that Elgin could not be sure about Callander's credentials. And Callander had by this time brought in another complication by sending, as he told the Senate, a packet to Lord Elgin through the Consul at Smyrna. Two letters addressed to the Senate at this time show how careful the Zanteans were to avoid direct responsibility. The Presidency, after disclaiming any knowledge of the flag incident, insisted on the necessity of treating it with all respect, especially in view of the enthusiasm with which it had been greeted; while Callander argued that Lord Elgin could not have written such a letter had he known the liberty allowed by the Constitution to the separate islands. When Greek championed Englishman and Englishman Greek, what could an impotent Senate do? It was small consolation to learn from their own envoy at Constantinople that Callander was known to be a *mauvais sujet*. Reports about his character began to come in thick and fast, but in Zante at least his prestige remained undimmed. The inhabitants presented to him, as they had to Lord Nelson two years before, a gold-hilted sword. In his reply he promised to guard the land against the common foe. The defence of the island was close to his heart, he said, because he saw it already a part of the English power.

This phrase stirred the Porte, which very naturally had begun to suspect the loyalty of Zante. It threatened an expedition to punish the leaders, and censured the unhappy head of the Senate for his remissness in maintaining order. This Theotochi, *homme très subtil*, as a French historian calls him, might well complain that the Senate could do nothing without military force, and that the aid of the Turks would alienate

¹Letter of 24th Feb., 1801.

²Letter of Lord Elgin, 22nd March, 1801. This enclosed a letter from Lord Grenville's secretary.

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his islanders.³ He was ordered to dissolve the Senate and carry on the Government with Turkish representatives and the Russian Consul. This step only stirred the Corfiotes to anger. But, though the Senate finally sent an expedition in a Turkish frigate, the flag still flew on the acropolis of Zante, 'as if by some wizardry,' says the Greek historian.

The time was now ripe for the Zanteans to claim admission to the British Empire. A certain doctor Zorzetos was sent to Admiral Keith to ask for a sufficient garrison. Then he was to proceed to Constantinople with letters for George III and Lord Grenville. The King was told of their desire for trade with Great Britain and Grenville was asked in magniloquent language to sanction a union. At worst this appeal secured further delay and sustained the moral of the Zanteans. Their Presidency issued a decree on June 5th, enumerating the benefits that the British flag had brought them. "Turn your eyes to your neighbor, Cephalonia, and its anarchy. Your Government tries to rule well and preserve peace and safety. . . . You have honoured the English flag. You have raised it on your walls. You have willed to be one with the British race. Be worthy of it."¹ The military Governor, Baron Callander, they added, had the fairest hopes of their future.

³It must be remembered that Corfu itself was in the full flood of anarchy, with now democrats, now aristocrats supreme, and Theotochi balancing dexterously at the head of affairs whatever turn the wheel of fortune took (Rodocanachi). While all the Powers were ready to intervene, and that sinister figure, Ali Pasha, looked on hungrily from the mainland, any interference from outside simply set up a fresh cleavage in internal politics. So the central government had little time to try to exercise its nominal authority outside. Callander's assertion that he restored order in Corfu and pacified the other islands must be an impudent lie. One would, however, like to believe the story of his argument with the Turkish High Executioner, who firmly believed in the superiority of the bow and arrow over guns. But this was after a fifty course dinner, where the prophet's injunction about wine was not strictly kept.

¹This was signed by five members of the Presidency—"the Zantean wine-club," as the historian bitterly calls them.

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One deed of mercy stands to Callander's credit. He alleges that he built fortifications to the harbour at a cost of £30,000 on Nelson's orders. One day two Sallee rovers put into the port, demanding water and supplies. These pests made the whole Mediterranean dangerous, coasts and sea alike.² It was unsafe to inhabit an unfortified house near the sea, for in their descents they would carry off all the people as slaves. Callander manoeuvred the ships under his batteries of long 32s and then required them to give up all prisoners. The pirates denied their presence on board, but were shown the red-hot shot that lay ready, and reluctantly delivered up forty-five poor creatures, remnants of the French expedition to Egypt.

It would be unfair to say nothing of his courage and resource, although he is his own witness; for even his enemies would hardly deny him those virtues of the adventurer's profession. He was faced with a mutiny of Italian irregulars. 'The mountaineers and Italians both being on parade, I walked up to the ringleader of the mutiny, and seizing him by the collar, pushed him suddenly among the Albanians, calling out to them at the same time . . . "Put the scoundrel to death."' The stroke succeeded, but the Albanians warned him not to use such methods with them, as they would not be intimidated. As he remarks of their neighbours: 'The Montenegrin soldier [of whom he had a company] is a man with arms in his hand, who submits to the orders of his superior, not because he feels himself bound to do it, but because he is so inclined.'

But Callander's day was nearing its end. The Senate again called on the Consul to take down the flag, and expel the "impostor Callander," and the Porte brought pressure to bear on Lord Elgin too. The Consul offered to accompany the Russo-Turkish fleet and do his best, adding that an English ship had better go with them to pay due honour to the flag. But he still felt that he had no power to act with regard to Callander. Two months more passed in vain appeals to the Presidency, and then in September an Ottoman squadron with

²Cf. Thucydides Bk. I, c. 5. Piracy was the standing peril of the Mediterranean since the dawn of sea-power.

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one British vessel sailed for Zante. The natives came out to the English ship with very unfriendly looks. The Consul was allowed to land, the representative of the Senate being sternly told to remain on board ship. There was much difficulty in arranging terms, but a mixture of firmness and tact on the part of the English captain brought the Zanteans to reason. The flag was hauled down in state on the sixth by a British officer with a salute of eleven Turkish guns, and the new Septinsular flag, as it rose, was honoured by twenty-one British guns.¹ Next day troops went ashore and Callander opportunely disappeared. 'Then,' says Maurogiannes, 'the notorious Callander, eluding his pursuers, went on board a merchant vessel, carrying with him the pleasing recollection that for seven months he had succeeded in ruling the whole island as commander and representative of the king of Great Britain.' Whether he took away anything else may be left undecided. In his own lifetime the *Quarterly Review* stated that all the cash in the treasury disappeared at the same time. It would be the last miracle of his rule that there was much cash to take. Think of him rather as slipping away with pleasant memories indeed, and the golden sword, which he lost later, but with some anxiety whether the civilized world was not too hot to hold him. It would be unfair not to give his own description of his exit. "Shortly after the Peace of Amiens in 1802 I received a letter from Lord Elgin, the British ambassador at Constantinople, informing me that, in consequence of the general pacification, his Majesty was to withdraw his protection from the Ionian Republic, and to leave the islands under their own form of government." So he sent memorials to the Commander-in-Chief and Secretary of State giving reasons why the British rule should continue. He was given an address of regret by the Presidency, who offered to pay expenses of government and to trade with Great Britain alone, if they might have the protection of the British flag. Such was the picture he painted when well over eighty.

It is at least true that the Zanteans regretted their plausible ruler. The Greek historian cannot conceal his amaze-

¹Account of B. Pieres, 6 Sept., 1801.

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ment that this impostor should have so captivated the natives, and carried on the government with such *éclat*. Let us dismiss him to the deserts of Syria—where he disappeared—with this unwilling praise. His actions, “threw a splendour about him that dazzled the populace and endowed him with unbounded influence over the Zantean people. So he was able as by some wizardry to allay popular outbreaks, and by means of his daring imposture to maintain such peace in factious Zante as some of the other islands did not enjoy.”

* * * * *

Rumour magnified Callander's adventures in the East. It was said that he had been seen in India, disguised as a fakir. No doubt the story is a tribute to his adaptability and to his temporary need for obscurity. He emerged from the desert a year later, having fallen heir to a baronetcy, which carried with it a lucky change of name.¹ Campbell, as he now was, hurried home, only to be trapped in France by the outbreak of war. There he had to remain as a *détenu* for twelve years. He is much maligned if he did not play an inglorious part as spy upon his fellow-Englishmen during those lean times. Such at least is the story that Sir Walter hints at. His title was to plunge him into another trouble, which vexed him till the end of his long life. He had to send someone to Scotland on family business, and chose a lady whom he saw fit to describe in the power of attorney as his wife. She played the part well enough, but when he left Paris in 1814, he wished to leave her too. She was less willing, and made effort after effort to establish her claim to be his lawful wife. It was the more annoying for Sir James, as he had celebrated his return to Edinburgh by marrying a very youthful wife in his old age. We need not dwell on his declining years. He moved about from one cheap resort on the Continent to another. The active brain was still full of schemes. One plan, conceived while he played the seigneur cheaply in a castle on the Upper Rhine,

¹He inherited the baronetcy of Campbell of Ardkinglass, 'happy,' says Scott, 'in escaping from his notorious title of Callander of Craighforth.'

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was to float down timber for the British Admiralty. But it came to nothing. He wrote his autobiography in two bland volumes, and died in 1832 at Edinburgh. The woman who aspired to be Lady Campbell and had become as well-known a figure about the Court of Session as poor Peter Peebles, died within a few days of him, her claim still 'not proven.' As for Martinengo, he lived to be a thorn in the side of a genuine British governor.

A. S. FERGUSON.

CURRENT EVENTS.

AT THE FRONT.

The Enemy Offensive.

The repeated and desperate endeavors of the enemy to break through on the western front have been the outstanding feature of the past quarter. In March came the German drive in Picardy, directed mainly against the British forces and checked only when a wedge had been driven in forty miles deep, to within a dozen miles of Amiens. In April the thrust came in Flanders, and again, in spite of dogged resistance, the Messines ridge and Armentieres were captured, and a salient forced ten miles down the Lys valley. The third drive came at the end of May, in Champagne, between Soissons and Rheims, this time against French forces; again a great wedge was driven in twenty miles on a forty-mile front, as far as the banks of the Marne. In the middle of June, the Austrians, prodded by hunger or Germany, launched an offensive against Italy on a hundred mile front, scored some initial successes, but by the bravery of the Italian and Allied forces and the intervention of Providence in turning the river Piave into a swelling torrent, the advance was checked and turned into a headlong rout which cost the enemy at least two hundred thousand men and many guns.

In France, every thrust has been halted. Very heavy losses have been inflicted on the enemy. Successful counter-attacks for minor objectives have begun. The morale of the Allied forces is as high as ever. The losses in material have been more than made up, and every day ten thousand United States troops have been pouring in. The enemy has succeeded in none of his main objectives. The French and British armies have not been overwhelmed or divided; the channel ports have not been occupied; Paris is still safe. Yet the three drives attained a measure of success which it is useless to deny, in the capture of men, of supplies, and of nearly all the territory regained in three years of sacrifice and struggle. Why was the enemy able to make greater advances in 1918 than our forces in 1917?

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Numbers? The German forces had been tremendously reinforced by the accession of the divisions set free in the east by the collapse of Russia. Out of a total of 241 German divisions, of 12,000 men each, 157 were on the west front on Jan. 1 and 202 the beginning of April—540,000 more. Yet when the battle of Picardy began, according to Mr. Lloyd George, the combatant strength of the enemy on the western front was only approximately, though not quite equal to the total combatant strength of the Allies in infantry; they were slightly inferior in artillery, and decidedly so in cavalry and aircraft. These statements have been questioned, but even if the Germans were shown to have any superiority in combatant numbers, it could not have been large. In the fall of 1917, when the Allies outnumbered the enemy on the western front three to two, it was understood that that was not a sufficient superiority to overcome the advantage of the defensive in resistance. Weather? Doubtless in part. The Germans were favored by mist for surprise attacks, cloudy days to prevent air observation of their concentration movements, and dry weather for bringing up guns and supplies, whereas last year promising Allied offensives time and again were smothered in mud. Unity of command? This again told in the enemy's favor. The appointment of General Foch to supreme command from the English Channel to the Adriatic was an admission of the previous weakness of the Allies in this respect.

Tactics? The width of the front on which the attack was made increased the chance of finding a weak spot somewhere and made it more difficult for the Allies to counter the thrust. The concentration of the bulk of the enemy forces in this area gave them a local superiority often amounting to three or four to one. The German staff has always laid great stress on mobility. Most of the movement of their troops was made at night. After the first wedge was driven in, giving the enemy inside lines, sudden concentration was still easier. In spite of decided superiority in the air, the Allies were apparently unaware of this concentration, particularly in the third or Champagne drive; bad weather had prevented detailed observation. Again, once these forces were concentrated, the enemy used new tactics. Hitherto the heavy artillery bom-

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bardment which preceded infantry attacks had the drawback of making the ground over which the advance was to be made almost impassable for guns or supplies. In these attacks, gas and trench mortars were used, leaving the ground practically intact. The attack was organized in great depth so that fresh units could come up between exhausted units. Another feature of what has come to be known as von Hutier tactics was the special and intensive training of selected men, behind the lines, for rapidity of advance.

Further German drives seem inevitable, but there is good ground for believing that the enemy has done his worst. The generalship of Foch and the bravery displayed by the Allied troops without exception give every assurance that the line will hold until American reinforcements make a counter offensive on a large scale possible.

Atrocities and Reprisals.

Most of us had thought that German methods of warfare could sink no lower. The bombing of hospitals and the torpedoing of hospital ships, deliberate, repeated, beyond doubt or excuse, have proved that still lower depths existed.

In considering reprisals for these and other atrocities, it is of course clear that violation of the rules of war by one combatant sets the other legally free to retaliate in kind. It is still necessary, however, to consider the questions of military expediency and of humanity implied. Will the use by ourselves of the practice or weapon in question compel the enemy to abandon it, or contribute materially to winning the war? In the case of the use of gas, it is clearly too effective in military operations for us not to follow the German lead. The bombing of German cities, while not so markedly expedient, has apparently been justified by the effect on German morale. Yet there remain practices which it is not likely that the Allies will copy in kind. Why should we force poisonous gas into men's lungs and hesitate to bomb wounded men in hospitals? There is, for one thing, a difference in the degree of military expediency, as the men in hospital are already, for the time at least, out of action. But the difference is mainly a moral one, a reluctance based on moral sentiments which are deep-seated. It may merely be that the convention against

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injuring the wounded is some generations older than the convention against the use of dum-dum bullets or poisonous gas, but that difference alone would account for the greater hold it has upon our minds. In such cases, instead of reprisals in kind directed against chance soldier or civilian enemies, those high in authority in Germany should be held strictly and personally to account after the war.

But why, it is often asked, make any rules at all as to methods of warfare? Why handicap yourself by absurd ideas of fair play? Why bar out poisoning-wells or using dum-dum bullets or firing on the Red Cross? Why not boil your enemies in oil, in Lord Fisher's phrase, if that will bring him to time quicker? Does not war carried on under all the Geneva and Hague conventions cause at least 90 per cent. as much suffering as it would if all the rules were scrapped?

It must be remembered that in framing these rules military expediency has been given full force as well as moral considerations, though technical progress may from time to time bring changes in the weight of the military advantages. The underlying principle is to exclude such practices as cause suffering wholly out of proportion to any military gain. The existence of such rules, broken though they may be, affords a definite moral standard which has been of great value to our own cause in the present war. The absolute disregard of any motive of chivalry or humanity does not bring the end of war nearer, as the Thirty Years' War may testify. It simply imparts added savagery and demoralization and postpones—what in the present case will be remote in any event—the possibility of resuming human relations with the foe. Yet there is this of soundness in the criticism—that no tinkering can make war tolerable, no Hague rules turn it into a pink tea, and that it is primarily the prevention of war rather than the modification of the rules of the game that should be sought.

The Lichnowsky-Prince Sixtus Disclosures.

The quarter has brought important revelations as to war-makers and peace-makers.

The Lichnowsky memoir and the Mühlon disclosures have given dramatic and conclusive proof of the responsibility of the German war lords and the Austrian diplomats for bringing

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on the war. In practically no Allied quarter was there any doubt on this score, but this evidence from the innermost circles of Germany itself has put the question beyond discussion. Lichnowsky makes clear how Britain strove for peace, both in the years before the war and in the crisis of July, 1914. Mühlon bares the Potsdam plotting to make use of the Archduke's murder to humble Serbia and Russia by bluff or force. The practical confirmation of these disclosures by Von Jagow, under pretense of answering them, and the freedom of circulation permitted the Lichnowsky memorandum in Germany, probably indicate a desire on the part of Germany's rulers to prepare the way for peace with the western powers, with restoration of the status quo on the west front but retention of German conquests in the east. The immediate effect in Germany has not been so great as some anticipated. When a war has been waged four years, the question of its cause ceases to occupy men's thoughts. Whether our country was right or wrong at the start, it is now in deadly peril; the question is one of national survival—so runs the common logic. Yet in time this damning evidence must sink in.

Of equal interest were the revelations of the peace negotiations begun in 1917 on the initiative of Emperor Charles of Austria. Through his cousin, Prince Sixtus of Bourbon, the young Emperor soon after his accession, in March, 1917, proposed to President Poincaré an early peace, offering to support "the French just claims to Alsace-Lorraine," and proposing restoration for Serbia and Belgium. The proposal was rejected, after consultation with the British and Italian premiers. Later, negotiations were resumed through Austrian and French representatives in Switzerland, but came to nothing. So late as February, 1918, General Smuts met Count Mensdorf, late Austrian ambassador to London, in Switzerland, but again nothing came of the negotiations.

The rejection of these overtures has been severely criticised in some French and English quarters. The criticism hardly seems justified by a study of the documents revealed in part by the French premier and in part through the Paris correspondent of the Manchester Guardian. It is indeed probable that the proposal was genuine, and that Charles was

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even prepared to make peace alone if Germany would not consent to these terms. Yet it appears that the proposal would have involved abandonment of Italy's claims, and that it was in some measure designed to thrust a wedge between her and the other Allies. A further criticism is directed against M. Clemenceau's publication of the Emperor's letter, which had been communicated under promise of secrecy, and with a warning from Prince Sixtus that any disclosure "might put the Emperor's life in danger and would certainly put Austria more than ever under the domination of Germany." The publication may have been a factor in forcing Austria into humble submission to her ally, but there are compensations in the fact that a more radical solution of the Austrian problem is thereby made possible, a solution which will free the Slav nationalities and break up the German-Magyar union which was the basis of oppression at home and aggression abroad. A further disclosure was that during these negotiations President Poincaré insisted that it was the Alsace-Lorraine of 1790 and 1814, not of 1870, that France claimed, together with the Valley of the Saar and indemnities and guarantees on the left bank of the Rhine. In a debate in the British House of Commons in May Mr. Balfour cleared the air by a statement that the question of a larger Alsace-Lorraine was not an Allied war-aim and that it was not "a fixed and solid part" of French policy.

The Crisis in Austria-Hungary.

The year that has passed since these negotiations were in train has brought a radical shift in the attitude both of Austria-Hungary and of the Allies. A year ago, threatened by hunger and Slav unrest, and discredited by defeat, the government of the Dual Monarchy sought refuge in a status quo peace with the Allies. That proving impossible, and with hunger turned to famine and Slav unrest growing into revolt, the government has turned to Germany for the support the dynasty cannot find at home. Germany has promised bread, of which she will spare little, and troops to shoot down rebellious Slavs, which she can little spare but will try harder to deliver. In return she has exacted her pound of flesh, an agreement which if carried out would reduce Austria-Hungary to a military and economic dependency, and more than realize the

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dreams of Mittel Europa. But the agreement has not yet passed the stage of generalities. The thorny question of how best to divide Poland has already brought the negotiation to a deadlock.

Meanwhile the Allies have been led to take up a more uncompromising attitude toward Austria-Hungary. Until a few months ago the dominant opinion in the Allied countries was against the break-up of Austria. Aristocratic and clerical sympathies, pacifist hopes of an early peace through this weakest link in the enemy chain, the lingering belief that Austria was less guilty than Germany, a fear that the break-up of the federation would mean the creation of a number of weak and unstable states which would be centres of intrigue and unrest for generations, all combined to favor this policy. Of late the realization that the alliance of the German and Magyar minorities in Austria-Hungary to suppress the Slav had been the chief bar to peace in Southeastern Europe in the past and would be the instrument of Germany's policy in the future has brought a change of view. The reconciliation of South Slav and Italian ambitions has also made possible, in case of Allied victory, a thorough-going application of the principle of nationality which was out of the question so long as the secret treaties held good. Italy is now coming to see that her safety against Austrian imperialism may be better attained through friendship with an independent South Slav state than through her own occupation of the Eastern Adriatic coast. We find, therefore, the Allies now holding out to the South Slavs as well as to the Czecho-Slovaks of the north the hope of support for their plans of complete independence. From present indications a German defeat on the west front, following the Austrian defeat in Italy, would be the signal for a Slav revolt throughout the Hapsburg dominions. Hunger may bring it sooner.

Intervention in Russia.

Great Russia still flounders in chaos. The Soviet government still holds office, if not power, but it has made little headway in giving Russia the peace, the bread, or the new industrial order the Bolsheviki promised. Around Russia proper Germany has set up a row of puppet states, controlled by the

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junker and reactionary classes and garrisoned by German soldiers. Finland, the Baltic provinces, Poland, the Ukraine, the Crimea and the Caucasus, all the non-Russian border lands which the old Russia mistreated, have broken away and come under German influence, practically barring Russia once more from the sea and opening a way for Germany to push her schemes of Asiatic conquest.

From this disorder Germany has not yet profited as she hoped. The supplies of food drawn from the Ukraine have been extremely small. Yet the danger remains that the enemy may secure aid from Russia in the present war through men or supplies and may lay the foundations of a colossal Berlin to Tokio empire for the future. What the attitude of the Allies should be in face of the steady penetration of Germany into Russia has been a subject for anxious debate.

There are those who urge that if the Germans are given enough rope they will hang themselves. Certainly their policy in the Ukraine has stirred up violent hatred. Their position in the east is everywhere precarious, an audacious gamble. An Allied victory in the west, or a Slav revolt in Austria-Hungary would bring their house of cards toppling down. Yet the issue is too momentous for the Allies to leave it to chance if they can do anything to hasten or assure the result. Can they do so?

In considering the advisability of intervention, it is necessary to ask what are the factors which prevent Russia today from resisting German penetration more effectively. They are, economic disorganization, the ambitions of nationalist minorities, absorption in class war, dominance of extremists in the governments of the various fragments of the country, and immensely greater ease of access from the enemy than from the Allied powers. Many critics have a simple explanation of all the ills of Russia—the Bolsheviki. These fanatics have much to account for, but it is childish to throw upon them alone the blame they must share along with the historic backwardness of Russia, due to her remoteness from the centres of civilisation and her place as a bulwark against Tartar and Turk barbarism; the despotism and misrule of the old order; the faithless oppression of racial minorities; the exhausting

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efforts of a great and badly and corruptly managed war; the disorders of demobilization, and the turmoil of revolution. Whatever the responsibility in the past, today the two chief dangers lie in the economic disorganization and in the class struggles which offer Germany her chance. Starving men can ill bargain, though fortunately Germany has little with which to tempt. A social war makes men forget national strife; in Finland, in the Baltic provinces, in the Ukraine, Germany has won her way by siding with the feudal nobility and the propertied classes generally, and in Great Russia as well either the same classes or their socialist opponents may call on German aid.

To bring order out of such chaos is a stupendous task. It is difficult to see which must go first—the rebuilding of the industrial structure, or the setting up of a moderate representative government, dominated neither by the old bureaucratic gang nor by the new red tyrants. Either is difficult unless progress is made along the other line. To aid by military force in overturning the Bolsheviki government is the suggestion that comes from many European quarters; to aid by restoring the railways and sending in sorely-needed supplies appears to be President Wilson's counter programme.

It is clear that intervention with the consent of the established government is a wholly different matter from intervention to overthrow that government. The task of giving aid would be immensely simplified if the Russians themselves could establish a government fairly representative, based, for example, on the Constituent Assembly. That hope failing, any military intervention would be a precarious venture. The most careful and disinterested handling would be necessary to prevent awakening the suspicions of the masses of the people and driving them into Germany's arms. It would have to be a joint affair; the plan that Japan alone should intervene would play into the hands of the pro-Germans; and in any case those parties in Japan which urged intervention were emphatic that they meant intervention in Eastern Siberia alone. It would be essential to make not only an explicit but a joint and several pledge to retain not a foot of Russian soil. It would be equally essential to renounce any attempt to interfere in Russia's

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social policy; it is no part of the Allies' mission to restore to the landlords the acres the peasants have snatched from them. They would have to be prepared, if they fought at all, to fight against pro-German nobles as readily as against pro-German socialists. First and foremost their aim would have to be to give the newest of the world's democracies sympathetic and genuine aid in finding itself, to prevent the promise of the revolution going down in despotism or in anarchy.

The Allied statesmen, it may be hoped and assumed, have more accurate knowledge of what is going on in Russia than the general public, dependent upon biased, fragmentary and contradictory reports of correspondents and propaganda bureaux. Even so, it will be no easy task to determine upon a feasible policy. It is possible that at any moment the situation may be crystallised by some unforeseen event, the adventure of the Czecho-Slovak forces or the assassination of Count Mirbach, just announced, which would lead to a definite alignment of forces in Russia and make the path clear.

The Danger of Premature Peace.

The failure of Germany to break through on the western front is sure to lead to peace proposals cleverly designed to appeal to one or other of the Allies in turn. The conduct of the enemy powers in Russia and Rumania has proved, if proof were necessary, the folly of listening to any such proposals before German militarism has met and acknowledged conclusive defeat. Any settlement which left the Junker and the army chief still in the saddle, left the prestige of the German staff unshaken, would enable the rulers of Germany to assure their people that it was their form of government and their submissive discipline that had saved them from a world in arms, and would lead millions of Germans after the war as before to sacrifice freedom at home for glory abroad. The overthrow of this system must come from within or without. In some measure there is less likelihood of revolt from within today than a year ago. The victories of the army on the eastern front have confirmed the military leaders in power, and the Reichstag majority has weakly receded from its demands for constitutional reform and moderation of foreign

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policy. The Independent Socialists, who are now in the majority in their party, are keeping up a fearless fight, but they alone can do little. Only as military and economic pressure is applied by the Allies will opposition within be stimulated.

Realizing the magnitude of the losses that every further day of war entails, the sacrifice of countless men of splendid promise, the mounting and crushing burden of debt, the possibility of serious social revolutions which debt and disorganization will entail, no one not calloused by long sight of suffering or blinded by hate could wish the war to last an hour longer than necessary. If the likelihood were that further years of war would leave the contending forces in the same position as today, to continue in bloody deadlock would be indefensible. But with time fighting for the Allies, with their immensely greater resources now tardily organized, and especially with the tremendous avalanche of unsurpassed American troops pouring ceaselessly into France, to halt now, to make a peace that left Germany able to call herself triumphant, would be still more indefensible. It would mean that victory had been thrown away just when in our grasp, and that all the sacrifices that had been made in the past four years had been made in vain. Fortunately there is every likelihood that the Allies will have the determination to stick the extra quarter of an hour that M. Clemenceau declares is all that is essential.

The Danger of the War after the War.

In the discussion of war aims and of after war policy, two divergent currents of opinion in the Allied countries are now clearly apparent.

In one view, in order to avert the danger of another such catastrophe coming on the world, each nation should seek to make itself so strong that no rival dare attack it. Secure strategic posts on your neighbor's border, even if this means disregarding the principle of nationality. Continue to arm to the teeth, with all the improvements the war has brought. Maintain secret diplomacy. Build up an exclusive national economy, with protective tariffs for at least key or pivotal industries, and with monopoly of raw materials, whether from

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home sources or from colonial possessions. This is the policy of the Secret Treaties, the policy of the Paris Economic Conference, the policy of the war after the war. It is simply the old policy that brought Europe to the present chaos, with minor variations which do not affect the principle.

In the other view, the first essential is to lessen the causes of war. Set oppressed nationalities free, by independence or home rule within a federation. Bring diplomacy into the light. Do not let concession-hunters dictate the country's foreign or colonial policy. Strive against the hoary fallacy that in trade one man or one nation gains only by another's loss. Then seek to build up some form of international organization to control too rampant nationalism, some permanent instrument of conciliation and adjustment, some league of nations which will have penalties for outlaws or privileges for decent members of world society. Such is the policy toward which many were groping before the war, and which the war has precipitated.

It cannot be denied that this second policy will be a hard one to carry through. It may take a longer war to secure the groundwork; it would take endless striving later to work out the practical detail. Some uninformed persons have dubbed the British Labor Party, which puts forward practically this programme, identical as it is with President Wilson's, as pacifists. The plain fact is that to secure the war aims of British Labor will probably need more fighting, to say nothing of more thinking, than the patchwork adjustments with which the old fashioned nationalist diplomacy would be content. But, in Colonel Roosevelt's phrase, it is "Hell or Utopia." The second policy presupposes Allied victory; deadlock or defeat, with a renewal of the struggle in prospect, would give some reasonable ground for the other policy. In fact, most of the arguments for the first policy are applicable only in case of German victory.

Fortunately the current runs stronger, though not without eddies and backwashes, in favor of the second policy. The Paris Conference of 1916 no longer commands assent. Most of the aggressive plans of the secret treaties have been discarded. If men like Baron Sonnino or Premier Clemenceau,

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steeped in the old traditions, or living in lands precariously open to attack, have found it difficult to adjust themselves to the new occasion, leaders like President Wilson, Lord Grey, General Smuts, are voicing the determination of silent millions that the world cannot be permitted to relapse into the old anarchy. Statesmen who insist that the organization of the world for peace is impossible will have to make way for men of greater faith.

CANADA.

The First Union Session.

The first session of the new parliament was one of the shortest on record. In spite or because of this brevity, its legislative achievement was notable. National prohibition, universal woman suffrage, daylight saving, abolition of the patronage system in the Civil Service, a further step toward the nationalization of railways, the revision of the income and business profits taxes, and the vote of half a billion for war purposes, make up a record creditable to parliament and cabinet alike. The discussions in the House were briefer than usual, and partisan outbursts on either side of the Speaker were few.

The extension of the income tax to cover incomes of \$2000 in the case of married persons, with \$200 exemption for each child under sixteen, and to \$1000 in the case of unmarried persons, and the increase in the rates in the higher levels, are decided improvements. It remains to consider a distinction between earned and unearned incomes, and to abolish the present double exemption given to husband and wife whose separate incomes are below the tax limit but whose joint incomes are above it. It would be highly desirable also to issue a plain and detailed guide for the assistance of taxpayers before the next levy is made. The decision of the Department of Finance to issue war savings stamps is belated, as this step had long been pressed upon it in vain, but it is nonetheless a welcome instalment of that organization of thrift which is more than ever essential.

The government found it necessary to amend the Military Service Act by order-in-council, endorsed later by parliamen-

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tary resolution. The original Act had unquestionably failed to yield any substantial increase of men over the voluntary system it superseded. This was due to the official overestimate of the total number of men still in the country, the provisions made in the act itself and by supplementary pre-election promises for extensive exemptions, and the loose interpretation given by exemption boards in many sections. When the German drive in Picardy created a new emergency, the government therefore decided to cancel practically all exemptions for men between twenty and twenty-two, and to draft men of nineteen. General considerations warranted this step; whatever of harm in the way of racial division the Act involved had already been done, and it was therefore well to ensure that whatever of good it could yield in the way of additional military forces should be pushed to the utmost required. In deciding whether more men were needed, the government had to consider the outlook at the front, the relative value of a man on a Canadian farm this year and in a Flanders trench next spring, the shipping situation, the American plans and other factors in a complex equation. Concluding that larger military reinforcements were the chief need, it could take no other action than to get them. The fact that pledges of exemption had been given to farmers before the last election could not stand in the way; it is not the breaking of such a pledge that requires defense.

Glowing reports have come of the attitude of Quebec to the war and to the draft. The change to some extent is real, due to a wider appreciation of what the world has at stake and to hierarchical pressure. To some extent the difference is due to the rosy spectacles which have suddenly become the fashion in official quarters. Whatever the explanation, it is to be hoped that the better feeling which has marked the quarter will continue, and that even at this late day the glorious opportunity of welding Canada into unity by common interest and common sacrifices in the most noble of causes will not be lost.

As the tension between Ontario and Quebec has eased, friction between city and country has increased. The assembling of thousands of Ontario farmers in Ottawa and Tor-

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onto to protest against the revocation of exemptions was only the most spectacular of many incidents in this growing divergence. City people have been fed on stories of farmers' sons slacking under cover of suddenly devised farm duties and of farmers profiteering to the limit of opportunity and of greed. Country people, seeing farm after farm left to old men and girls, knowing the long days of sweat that the harvest costs, remembering the years when farming did not pay, and suspicious of city-centred press and corporations, retaliate bitterly in kind. It is probable that one result will be an increased tendency toward the political and economic organization of the farmers,—though the Ontario farmer is a hard shell individualist, not co-operating with the readiness of the western grain-grower. Fortunately there is no likelihood of any permanent deep cleavage; farm and city are in Canada too closely linked by countless personal ties and by constant interchange to permit that calamity.

The titles debate, which gave rise to the only moment of tension in the past session, raises two questions, one as to the merits of the proposal to abolish titles and one as to the expediency of the government's making it a confidence issue.

The craving for marks of distinction is deep-seated. "You call these ribbons toys," Napoleon remarked; "you govern men with toys." The fantastic costumes and titles of some fraternal societies on this continent are evidence that even in a democracy this craving dies hard. Nor is it by any means to be condemned indiscriminately. It springs from that desire to have the approval of one's fellows which is indispensable for individual energy and for social cohesion. It would be a churl who would refuse to honor the man who has given special service in peace or war or would try to keep all men on a dead level. But it does not follow that public esteem must always take a tangible form, much less the forms in question. The main ground for objecting to the further conferring of knightly and baronial titles in this country is that they are part and parcel of a system of caste, symbols of the division of people into rigid classes. Such an ordering of society has its redeeming features, and was perhaps inevitable and not without service in a rude day, but it is too wasteful of human

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capacity for us to pick it up just when Europe is consigning it to the scrap heap. From this standpoint the distinction between hereditary and other titles is only one of degree, since both are taken over from a caste system. But is plutocracy any better than aristocracy, a defender urges? Perhaps not, but are the two distinct? The tendency in recent creations has been to combine them. A further ground for objection is the intention and effect of the lavish distribution of titles in promoting plans of imperial centralization. Incidental but not without importance are the evils of wirepulling and barefaced corruption which have marked the system in Great Britain, where titles have played the same part in filling party chests that railway subsidies have done here.

The government, making note of the rising hostility to the system, and seeking to take the wind out of the critics' sails, passed an order-in-council which went far toward remedying the abuse. No further hereditary titles were to be granted; the eventual annulling of those now existing was to be sought, and no further titles were to be conferred on Canadians save on recommendation of our Prime Minister. Incidentally, this marked an important constitutional innovation. For the first time the Governor-General and even that paraphrase, the Governor-General-in-Council, are set aside, and the Prime Minister stands forth nominally and in fact responsible. So far so good, but when the members of the Commons sought to go further and abolish titles altogether the prime minister declared he would resign if the resolution was carried, thus putting more than half the Unionist members in the unpleasant predicament of having either to vote against their convictions or to turn out a government they wished to support.

Those who wished to take the more radical stand may have been right or wrong, but they formed a large majority in parliament and represented a much larger majority in the country. There was no valid reason why their will should not have prevailed, or why the vote should have been made one of confidence. The explanation offered, that the government had already forwarded its order-in-council to Great Britain as the basis of discussion of the question at the Imperial Conference, is not an explanation but an aggravation. The issue had little

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direct bearing on the war, to conduct which efficiently the government had its mandate. Why then was it brought up? A pertinent question, in a sense, but impertinent if directed toward those who were opposing titles; it is to the fatuousness of the individuals, whoever they may be, who chose this of all times for pouring out a succession of hereditary and other titles (in the case of one hereditary title, according to Sir Robert Borden, even without his knowledge) and for announcing the creation of a new order with hundreds of titles for Canadians in the first batch, that the raising of the issue is due.

The incident is significant of that magnifying of the government at the expense of the private member which was a marked tendency alike in Canada and in Britain before the war and has been accelerated by the war. On war issues, the need for sudden decision makes concentration of great power in the hands of the executive essential. All we can do is to select our dictators. The fact and the need of such concentration, however, is all the more reason why the rank and file of the house should be allowed to use their own brains on matters aside from war operations. A British precedent is much to the point. Last year the British parliament was also discussing a constitutional question, and a more important one—the proposal to double the electorate by admitting women and also millions of men hitherto excluded. The government did not insist on directing the Commons in the long discussion; in fact, it stood absolutely aside, recognizing that as a coalition war government it was given power solely for war measures.

We have heard much, and not before it was time, of the need of independence on the part of electors. But independence on the part of electors will not avail if the members elected are to be mere voting machines, controlled by the party leaders. If cabinets continue to dictate policy, if the process of using orders-in-council to present parliament with an accomplished fact which it must take or leave is extended, Parliament will cease to attract men of capacity and judgment, and will be inadequate to serve even as a panel for cabinet members. On war issues, a large measure of executive control must continue, though, as is shown by the experience of

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the French Chamber of Deputies, which has succeeded in preserving its powers and serving the country more intelligently during the war than either the British or Canadian Commons, along with such concentration should go constant revision and inquiry. It will be worth considering whether some adaptation of the French committee system would serve our purposes in the future. Aside from such formal expedients, hope for independence lies in the break-up of the old parties and the rise of new groups. The individual member will count again during the process of reshaping of parties; individual Liberal-Unionists, for example, will find themselves in strong strategic positions so long as they are deciding on which side of the hyphen to come down. The organized manufacturers, the organized farmers, the organized veterans, will all be represented, and in addition, it may be hoped, informed and independent study and discussion of public issues throughout the country will create a spirit which should help to check party slavishness and make parliament a real forum.

Canada's Industrial Achievement.

The magnitude of Canada's industrial activities during war-time continues to be a warrant for confidence as to the future. True, production has been abnormally favored by assured markets and removal of competition and of cost considerations, but it has been abnormally restricted by the absence of hundreds of thousands of men from industry and by difficulties as to raw materials.

The slackening in munitions orders and output has been compensated by a great increase in shipbuilding activity, at first on Imperial Munitions Board and Norwegian orders, and latterly for Canadian Government and private account. There is now under construction in Canada a tonnage equal to three-fourths of Great Britain's annual output, and eighty per cent. of this programme will be completed this year. Exports for the last calendar year exceeded \$1,500,000,000 in value, or more than five times as much as in 1912, and nearly four times the 1914 total. Farm products made up \$700,000,000, and manufactures \$680,000,000, or nearly twenty times the 1912 figure. Canada, which a dozen years ago was only fifth or sixth among

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the world's wheat exporters, has been first in the average of the past three years, leading the United States by a slight margin, and exceeding by half Australia, India and Argentina combined—a result due in part to shipping conditions, and not likely to be repeated this coming year. Bank deposits payable after notice are now \$930,000,000, as against \$625,000,000 in 1913. Even \$100,000,000 a year for interest on debt and \$50,000,000 a year for pensions do not look appalling in the light of such developments.

O. D. SKELTON.

THE UNITED KINGDOM.

The 'Hidden Hand' and other Myths.

'Suspensions amongst thoughts, are like bats amongst birds, they ever fly by twilight.' The half-light of a great war is congenial to strange tales, but rarely have men's ears been affronted by such monstrous growths as those for which Mr. Pemberton-Billing stands sponsor. While our army was in its agony, the rabble rout who captured Justice Darling's court staged a performance which would seem impossible had it not actually happened. As the whole affair is the logical climax of a long-continued campaign of slander, and as the form in which telegraphic reports reached this country hardly did justice to the riot of folly that overturned the decencies of law, something may be said to put in perspective a case otherwise beneath contempt.

The only question decided at this suit between a dancer and an ex-actor, now an M.P. and a mighty hunter of shadows, is that it is not actionable to call Wilde's *Salome* an immoral play. So far as a British jury is competent to pronounce on art and morals, this, then, may be taken as settled. No personal imputation was made against the lady who was unfortunate enough to be made the stalking-horse for bigger game. The real purpose of the trial which the Vigilantes provoked was to make vile aspersions not only upon the personal character of political opponents, but upon the whole fabric of English life. The story of the Black Book, which was seen by one privileged person in Albania and by another in the hands

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of an honourable soldier, since fallen in battle, who allowed it to return to Germany, is riddled with contradiction. But as it is hard to grasp what figures mean I may advert to one point before passing to general considerations. It is said that the book contained the names of 47,000 prominent people addicted to vice; that is, 47,000 who are worth blackmailing. Now, *Who's Who*, which gives some account of everybody who is anybody and of many who are nobodies both in Great Britain and abroad, has perhaps some 20,000 names. It is rumoured that Mr. Billing, having chastised his countrymen with the valour of his tongue, will now emulate Pantagruel, who imported from Utopia 9,876,543,210 men, women, and children, 'besides artificers of all trades and professors of all sciences in order to people, cultivate, and improve' a degenerate country.

But a certain type of mind prefers to believe the incredible. To detect unseen and unseeable causes at work gives a glow of satisfaction which is inexhaustible, since there is an infinite store of non-existent causes. Such minds may have some ability in other directions, as one sadly reflects on reading certain works of psychical research, but the will to believe what they want to believe plays havoc with sense. In war time, when fear and rancour and ignorance have full scope, the unbalanced see the Hidden Hand pulling all the strings of all the puppets on both sides.¹ Doubtless England would collapse like Russia, if perchance the fifty or forty and five or ten just men still to be found among an ignoble people did not preserve her. It is to these panic fears that we owe the humiliating 'smelling-out' of suspects by wild men who spare not even those who have given long service to their country and have suffered personal bereavement in the war. And as in the Roman proscriptions, so now any who have private scores to pay off find it easy to add their enemies to the list.

The newspaper campaigns, though less virulent, are more concentrated and more deadly. Their mark used to be the

¹He told me, under the most solemn vows of keeping quiet, that there are reports of the Emperor of Russia having in his possession letters both from the Queen and Prince, giving him assurances that there would be no war, a most grave matter. "Not a word of it, Captain, to any one."—Letters of Major William Blackwood during the Crimean War.

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politicians; now they strike at generals or admirals, who cannot reply: but the method is the same. Forty papers speaking like one man have a marvellous effect unless the reader remembers that one man is speaking in forty papers. Some weekly hints that General X. is not in the best of health; another suggests that his ideas are out of date; then some bravo with a pen makes his onslaught on effete generals, and the whole chorus open out upon their destined victim. Decent people begin to protest, but the mischief is done. It does not matter whether these outcries are intelligent anticipations of steps actually to be taken or whether they precipitate the dismissal of a servant of the state. They are not reasoned criticism of policy or strategy, about which it is possible in some degree to direct public opinion, but excited assertions about a person, whose character and ability must necessarily be unknown to most men. We have Sir Eric Geddes's word that the backstair intrigues coordinated with these public attacks are persistent and contemptible. What the Northcliffe Idea can accomplish when one of its exponents assumes office may be judged from the acts of a minor member of the dynasty, who rid the Air Staff of its most distinguished soldier, one of the brilliant discoveries of the war, and defended himself by publishing a homily on overstaffing and the importance of using new men. Without undervaluing the services of the Harmsworth family, it is possible to think that the suspension of Sir Hugh Trenchard at a critical time is paying rather dearly for them.

These explosions are marked by two characteristics. First, they have no framework of thought behind them; they harp on catchwords — some not without merit but never seen in proportion—and they deal in personalities: these are the marks of the demagogue. As there is no rational policy, the catchwords and the personalities change from month to month. Now the 'stunt' press courts Home Rule, now declares it anathema; while the only safe thing to say of the idol of to-day is that to-morrow he will lie in the scrap-heap with the battered forms of his predecessors. The second characteristic of these attacks is that they grow more intense as the public requires a stronger stimulus, and give rise to movements which their originator never contem-

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plated. Mr. Billing is a creation of the Northcliffe press, although he has bettered their instruction. The limit of folly would now seem to be reached—if folly had limits.

All things are lawful to these critics; but if a general, at the risk of his professional life, asks for an enquiry into certain matters of fact, he is accused of being a political tool. General Maurice's charges, which still stand, must await the assize that will follow the war. The vote in the House of Commons has no bearing on the facts, for the facts were not before it. The division merely sustained the Government; it was an expression of no confidence in the Opposition. Mr. Lloyd George offered a defence which will, I imagine, satisfy no one who is not disposed to be contented with rhetoric. If a soldier denies that the forces available on the Western front before the battle of March were equal to the army of the previous year, is it a convincing answer to reply that no distinction can be made between fighting troops and auxiliary services because the latter fought well? Did Mr. George's original comparison ignore this distinction? Unfortunately some commentators in Canada have obscured the issue by raising the old cry of the Army versus the People. This formula may be all very well in July 1914, but what bearing has it upon the question whether the army in France was given sufficient support to meet the great trial of March 1918?¹ During the early part of the year critics repeatedly said that the Government was not alive to the serious situation in France, and ignored the representations of the General Staff. The question is not whether the Government exercised a proper judgment upon the situation—and some of the utterances of ministers suggest that they did not—but whether the statements made after the German attack tended to place blame upon the Staff, although the Government was responsible. That is the real issue between General Maurice and the Ministers.

A. S. FERGUSON.

¹Another misguided attempt to apply an abstract formula appears in the suggestion that Lord Lansdowne's activities are intended to preserve the aristocratic principle, which might be endangered if Germany is utterly defeated. This, like the other, is a shallow interpretation of a man's motives purely in terms of caste, to use the word favoured by the critics in question.

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THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES.*

(Written August, 1917).

MR. Beer is a well-known American historian. He has dug deeply into the archives of the old Colonial system, and with wide research and solid judgment has traced the causes which, at the end of the 18th century, led to the American Revolution. In a book written ten years ago he threw out the opinion:

"It is easily conceivable, and not at all improbable, that the political evolution of the next centuries may take such a course that the American Revolution will lose the great significance that is now attached to it, and will appear merely as the temporary separation of the two kindred peoples whose inherent similarity was obscured by superficial differences resulting from dissimilar economic and social conditions."

This reads like a prophecy in course of more rapid fulfilment than the prophet expected, and suggests a general consideration whether prophecy, instead of being classed as at present with poetic effusions, pulpit warnings, and stock exchange tips, should not be frankly recognized as a branch of history. At any rate it is the historian rooted firmly in the past who has most right to wave in the air of the future the beautiful leaves and flowers, the ideals which forecast the future of mankind. But Mr. Beer clearly states:

"It is not the object of this book to discuss the possibility of a political reunion between the United States and the British Commonwealth. . . . The object is to explain the advisability and necessity of a co-operative democratic alliance of all the

**The English-Speaking Peoples; Their Future Relations and Joint International Obligations.* By George Louis Beer, sometime Lecturer at Columbia University. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1917.

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English-speaking peoples, from which may possibly in time be developed a new type of permanent political association."

In his preliminary chapters on "International Anarchy" and "Nationalism and Sovereignty", Mr. Beer emphasizes the distinction between the "State" and the "Nation." The idea of the "State" as a political and geographical entity has come down to us from the Renaissance. Louis XIV concentrated the idea in his "L'Etat c'est moi." In the 18th century the revolutions in America and France transferred the idea of sovereignty from Monarch to People, but made no provision for relations between states. The French revolutionaries wished to bend the rest of the world to their will. The Americans wanted to steer clear of it altogether. The result has been "International Anarchy." Whenever the needs, real or fancied, of any particular state conflict with those of Humanity generally, Humanity must go to the wall.

The "Nation" on the other hand is

"A group of men united by a consciousness both of common likeness to one another as well as of difference from others."

The tie is cultural, not necessarily ethnical. Of two most Prussian Prussians, Treitschke was a Saxon of Tzech descent, Nietzsche was a Pole. The British ambassadors at Berlin and Vienna when war broke out, Goschen and de Bunsen, were both the grandsons of distinguished Germans. In the "melting pot" of the United States the "cultural" factor is clearly decisive. The best hopes for the evolution of some kind of "super-national" league lie in the cultural affinities of the United States and the British Commonwealth. Other democracies may gradually join, and eventually the "international anarchy" of the present day may be converted into a world peace.

In three fascinating chapters, "American Foreign Policy before 1914", "The Background of the War", and "America's Reaction to the War", Mr. Beer describes the causes of the present war and the dramatic effect it has had on the American people, who have reversed their traditional policy of isolation and plunged into a world war "to vindicate the principles of peace and justice."

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American Foreign Policy Before 1914.

George Washington, in his farewell address in 1796, laid down for the United States the policy of avoiding European entanglements. Thomas Jefferson (President 1801-1809) was even more definite, writing at the time of his inauguration: "We shall avoid implicating ourselves with the powers of Europe even in support of principles which we mean to pursue." In 1820 Jefferson wrote: "The day is not distant when we may formally require a meridian of partition through the ocean which separates the two hemispheres, on the hither side of which no European gun shall ever be heard, nor an American on the other, and when during the rage of the eternal wars of Europe the lion and the lamb within our regions shall lie down together in peace."

In 1823 Canning proposed co-operation between Britain and the United States in order to maintain the independence of the South American republics which had rebelled from Spain. Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe himself were in favour of accepting the offer, but gave way to the stronger influences of Clay and J. Q. Adams. Jefferson was then eighty years of age. On the 24th October, 1823, he wrote to Monroe: "Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe." But in the same letter he went on to observe: "Great Britain is the nation which can do us the most harm of any one of all on earth, and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. With her then we should most jealously cherish a cordial friendship, and nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more side by side in the same cause."

The fundamental maxim seems to disappear in a still more fundamental exception, but in American policy the maxim carried the day, and on the 2nd December, 1823, Monroe announced the doctrine called by his name, warning European powers that: "We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

British co-operation was not accepted, and ninety-three years had still to pass before the English-speaking peoples

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were to find themselves "fighting once more side by side in the same cause."

It is difficult for an Englishman to realize the abiding force which the policy of isolation necessarily exercised over the American people. It was not the mere Monroe doctrine forbidding European interference in the Western hemisphere; nor was it only the natural desire to develop peacefully great natural resources. It was rather an idealism in which the citizens of the United States figured as a kind of Chosen People. They had left behind the "fleshpots" of Europe. They had easily polished off the Red Indian "Canaanites." They would now show the world how things, in one hemisphere at any rate, could be really properly run. Jefferson himself, as the leader of the Democratic-Republican party in 1801, was the great prophet. "War is hell" was a basic belief, though that neat formula was not current till a later age. But "man is a quarrelling animal," said the practical statesmen of the old world. "Man is prone to evil," said their practical theologians. So the theologians kept their eyes on hell, and the statesmen were always preparing for war. "We will alter all this as far as we can," said the Democratic-Republican Party. "America at any rate shall be made a heaven."

The Napoleonic War, 1803-1814, gave a bad blow to the ideals of Jefferson and his party. They wished to maintain the rights of neutrals. They tried by trade regulations to control the action of belligerents. Napoleon dragged them as his dupes into the war with Britain of 1812-1814. That war increased the sense of nationality, but left untouched the policy of isolation.

In 1815, as Professor Channing tersely puts it, "The American nation with its back to Europe and its face to the West, addressed itself to the solution of the problems of the nineteenth century."

The Civil War of 1861-65 terminated the long struggle in which Slave rights and State rights had got fatally mixed, but did not affect foreign policy. In the Trent affair in 1861, in the particular matter of the "Right of Search," the two countries exchanged policies, America maintaining what she had hitherto condemned, Britain condemning what she had

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hitherto maintained. For a few days there was risk of war. The skill of Lord Lyons and the good sense of the American statesmen prevailed. America gave way, admitting her temporary mistake. Britain gave up her permanent policy.

The Alabama claims and the various disputes over fisheries and boundaries were slowly settled one after the other (the latest only in 1910), owing to the growing friendliness. But these settlements lessened rather than increased any necessity for entanglements with foreign powers.

The Venezuela question in 1896 and the Spanish-American War in 1898 gave a somewhat new meaning to Pan-Americanism. The original Monroe doctrine declared the Western hemisphere free from European intrusion, but did not condescend on any details as to how order was to be preserved in the Latin-American republics. Each separate republic was assumed to have sovereign rights and to stew in its own juice. No European power was to join in the cookery. The situation was well shown in a British comic cartoon about 1900. John Bull and Jonathan were watching a monkey—typifying Venezuela—running up a tree with John Bull's bag. "Is that your monkey stealing my bag?" says John Bull to Jonathan. "Yes—ain't he cute?" replies Jonathan. Such a situation could not last, and in Cuba and San Domingo at any rate America accepted responsibility for civilization and not merely for freedom from European interference.

The Spanish-American War took America to the Philippines, and in Manila Bay there was a shadow of coming events. The German admiral asked the British admiral what he was going to do. The British admiral is said to have replied: "That is known only to the American admiral and myself."

From 1898 onwards the friendliness between Britain and America continued to grow, but in America the policy of isolation was still supreme.

In June, 1900, Mr. John Hay, the American Secretary of State, wrote to a friend: "Every senator I see says, 'For God's sake don't let it appear that we have any understanding with England.'" Even as late as the spring of 1916 Mr. Baker, the American Secretary of War, gloried in American

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neutrality, saying that the United States was "now in the dominant moral position in the world."

The Background of the War.

On the American retina the image of the world showed the Western Hemisphere in happy isolation. On the German retina there was a very different image. To German eyes the dominating and disquieting feature in the progress of the world was the steady growth of English-speaking peoples and English-speaking culture. The German mind, militarist and bureaucratic, could not grasp the fact that the growth of Anglo-Saxondom was organic and automatic—"a living process growing with the changing demands of the times, one spontaneously generated by the activities and needs of countless individuals following their own immediate private ends"—and only to a very minor extent the result of conscious scheming.

From the Franco-German War of 1870-71 onwards Germany grew largely in population, trade, and general prosperity, and might have added to the wealth and welfare of the world if it had not been for her fatal heart disease, the desire for imperial domination, and her still more fatal belief that that desire could be attained by military force.

"The modern Germans," says a German writer, "are, almost everywhere in the world, unfortunately, bad Germanizers."

"German kultur cannot absorb, it can only supplant," is the remark of an American critic.

So that in spite of her prosperity, Germany in the strife of cultures stood to lose. She could not even conciliate her victims—French, Danes, Poles, etc. Her emigrants became absorbed in Anglo-Saxondom. Her own colonies were not really a success.

The world would not accept German culture as a gift, so German culture must be hammered into the world by force.

It was a programme similar to that ascribed to Dr. Keate: "Boys, be pure in heart—if not I'll flog you."

The cultural solidarity of English-speaking peoples was to be suppressed. "What English-speaking pioneers—discov-

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erers, adventurers, traders, settlers—have slowly and laboriously accomplished by individual enterprise, the German Empire, with its consciousness of military strength and its contempt for non-military states, planned to duplicate in a few decades.”

America's Reaction to the War.

From August, 1914, to April, 1917. Two years and eight months may seem long measured by the enormous expenditure of blood and treasure during the period. But it was short for the alteration by a great nation of the fixed fundamental policy on which it had been founded and which it had steadily pursued for over a century. “Am I my brother’s keeper?” was a question which not only America but every other nation in the world was still ready to ask, without loss of self-respect, if invited to interfere on behalf of mere humanity. The fate of Belgium produced at once a strong and extensive anti-German feeling, which was intensified by the progressive horrors of the war, but the first effect of this feeling was to strengthen the normally pacific temper of the people and to make overwhelming the popular demand for neutrality. “*Suave mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis*,” was no doubt part of the siren song which poor Professor Münsterberg tried to chant to his Harvard audiences. But such arguments would be necessarily transient. No one who knows the true American could doubt that—with him as with the true Britisher—the violence of the storm would call forth all the more strength, and the sweetness of neutrality turn to bitter regrets as soon as the vast world issue had been realized and the determination made to vindicate at all costs the cause of justice and of freedom.

During 1916 there was much discussion on the question of an international league to enforce peace. In May President Wilson pronounced in its favour. In June the Democratic party included it in its platform. In September the President thought that “no nation can any longer remain neutral as against any wilful disturbance of the peace of the world.” In December he said more definitely that “when the war is over” the American people should be willing to co-operate “with

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every influence and resource at their command." On December 18th the Senate debated the President's message. The programme of the League was attacked. Even prospective co-operation "when the war is over" was in the opinion of some senators objectionable as committing the country to unlimited obligations.

On the 22nd January, 1917, the President personally addressed the Senate. They could not in honour refuse "to add their authority and their power to the authority and force of other nations to guarantee peace and justice throughout the world."

In the midst of the debate on this utterance came the announcement of Germany's unrestricted submarine campaign, and shortly after became known the German intrigues with Mexico and Japan. On February 3rd diplomatic relations were severed. On March 5th the President in his inaugural warned the nation that it might be drawn by circumstances "to a more immediate association with the great struggle itself." Finally on April 2nd he advised Congress "to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and to end the war." This would involve "the utmost practicable co-operation in counsel and action with the Governments now at war with Germany."

The official utterances above quoted give an outline of the change, but in a huge country like the United States with many sectional cleavages and innumerable separate viewpoints, it is impossible, as Mr. Beer admits, to summarize in short compass the changes of thought varying from place to place and from day to day.

There is, however, one method—lately recommended by Mr. Page, the American ambassador in London—by which an Englishman can obtain very good insight into portions of American opinion. That method is by private correspondence with friends. The extracts given below are from personal friends of mine—Mr. X, Mr. Y and Mr. Z. All three correspondents have studied closely for years the history and the politics of their country. Mr. X is calm and judicial. Mr. Y is a pronounced pacifist. His views are old-fashioned. They reach back to the Declaration of Independence, and are in

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some ways as old as the New Testament. No nation is good enough to govern another. Nations, like individuals, should follow the golden rule. The old-fashioned views of Mr. Y determined no doubt the opinions he expressed in 1914, but these opinions are specially interesting, as they coincide with the decision of the American people in 1917.

Mr. Z is a younger man. His letter of April 26th, 1917, gives the views at that moment of one who had "felt bitterly for three years."

From Mr. X—20th August, 1914.

Though remote from the war we take, of course, a great interest in it, and the most surprising thing to me is the virtual unanimity of sentiment—native Germans and their immediate descendants alone excepted—that holds Germany responsible and blameworthy, and sides with the Allies.

Sympathy for Belgium as the weaker party and inoffensive, and indignation at Germany's bad faith in violating the guaranteed neutrality, are the immediate grounds of the sentiment that prevails. Back of them is a lack of sympathy with militarism and autocracy which Germany somehow represents to us. I do not think the Anglo-Saxon blood thicker than water sentiment has much to do with it. At bottom I think we don't exactly like your Russian alliance, and passively dislike the Japanese one. But we are pretty much all on the English side now, nevertheless. The German victories reported make us very blue. We don't like the outlook for Europe or for the isles of the sea.

From Mr. Y—13th November, 1914.

We are heart and soul with you in the fight, and this is true with very few exceptions of all people in the United States. We hailed with thorough approval Mr. Asquith's statement at the Guildhall that the war will be prosecuted until Germany's military predominance is ended for ever—if such is possible. All your sacrifices will be in vain unless this is done, and any peace would only be an armistice giving Germany a chance to recuperate and try again in more favourable circumstances. Meanwhile every country would be staggering under the burden of constantly increasing armaments.

It is hard to believe that civilization has broken down as completely as it seems to have. The German advocates in this country are preaching the most amazing doctrines. In substance they claim that patriotism is the supreme virtue, and that it means increasing the wealth, territory and power of one's country, no matter how, without the least regard to the rights of other peoples, and without the least respect for the most solemn engagements. Given the military strength, the stronger may call all weak peoples decadent, and help itself to their property,

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destroy life and all that makes life valuable—burn, destroy, devastate, all in the name of “Der Alte Gott.”

Civilization has perished if these doctrines can be maintained. The Allies are in fact fighting the cause of humanity against barbarism.

If you cannot win without us we shall help, but at present it seems best to maintain official neutrality.

From Mr. Y—13th July, 1915.

The Germans seem to be mad, absolutely destitute of law or sense, and their stupidly impudent reply to President Wilson's second note irritates and amuses at once. The idea of their insisting that they are governed by the principle of not injuring civilian non-combatants in the war, in view of all they have done in Belgium, and all that they are doing in the way of sinking neutral ships and killing neutral people, is magnificently impudent.

From Mr. Y—12th September, 1915.

We are getting very impatient with Germany. The delays and evasions since the “Lusitania” and the “Arabic” were sunk, the conspiracies against our peace in which German officials have been caught, the exposure of the methods employed in the German propaganda here, have disgusted us. The pro-Germans are on the defensive and very little more provocation will set us on fire. I should feel easier in my conscience if our weight were all thrown openly into the scale against Germany, and I am haunted by the lines:

“It's a man's perdition to be safe
When for the truth he ought to die.”

We must wait and have faith.

From Mr. Y—13th January, 1917.

Our hearts are with you, and we hope that the long trial is nearly over and assured victory in sight. The President's note to the belligerents disgusted most of us, and Belgian deportation with the German attempts to defend it has enraged us. Meetings of protest are being held all over the country, and indignation seems to be growing. The German attempt to get peace, followed by Mr. Wilson's note, gave the Allies a great chance, and their replies have put them right before everyone who thinks. The Germans have lost and the Allies have gained very much as a result. Your terms are hard, but not too hard. This war will have been merely a waste of life unless you can win a lasting peace. I fancy the Hohenzollerns find themselves on a volcano, and no one can tell when it will break out. The losses of men and the suffering of people at home are daily arguments against them which will eventually convert the German people. God help you all. It is frightful to think what a terrible loss every day brings to you, and at what cost you are winning your salvation. I have never doubted you would win, but how long—O Lord, how long?

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From Mr. Y—April, 1917.

Well, we are enlisted with you, and for the first time since the war began my conscience is easy. You remember Sir Philip Sidney's words: "Whenever you hear of a good war go to it." Freedom and tyranny are in a death grapple, and I have not been willing to sit by and not help freedom.

Tell us how we can best help, and we will try. We are in dead earnest, and want to do our share.

From Mr. Z—26th April, 1917.

There does not seem to me to be any fundamental war fever over here. We are deep down angry at Germany. We are frightfully sore at the way we were forced into the war at the end, sore at Wilson in spite of the pretty things now being said of him for his war message, sore at ourselves for the way we have been bleeding the Allies of their money, and altogether anxious that something may be done to clear our skirts of the dust of the past three years, when it seems more than ever clear now we might have been doing something besides fattening ourselves. That we are soft, unprepared, ignorant, is an idea that is very rapidly permeating the West, that region where they said the war talk was all a Wall Street bluff. We haven't any war fever; we are too scared. But we are angry as well as scared, and a lot of men are trying to find out what they ought to do. What pleases me most, the aviation corps is filling rapidly. Six weeks ago parents were objecting, but that has largely ceased. Also we are sending a fine lot to the Navy for the scouting work.

I miss my guess if the Germans do not get mightily surprised at our point of view when it comes to peace. The Belgium story has sunk in deep. Those of us who have felt bitterly for three years are not to be mentioned with those who for three years said it was all England's fault and that Germany was a basely maligned nation struggling for her life. These are the people who will never forgive her for what she has done to them.

The English-speaking Peoples.

In his three concluding chapters Mr. Beer describes the Unity, the Economic Interdependence and the Community of Policy of the English-speaking peoples.

In these chapters he is dealing largely with matters only too familiar in English controversies—Imperial Federation and the Fiscal question. He begins by pointing out that the day for an alliance between the United Kingdom and the United States has gone by. The alliance must now be between the whole of the English-speaking peoples—the United States

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and her dependencies on one side, and on the other the British Commonwealth of Nations and the people of India. For such alliance, or rather co-operation, Mr. Beer relies on cultural affinities. He points out that though the citizens of the United States come from many different races, yet the British stock has had an overwhelming predominance in building up the nation, and has a present ascendancy in directing its affairs. He quotes statistics showing that in 1915 of 383 high officials 326 had had British names, out of 32 generals 29, and out of 27 admirals 23 had British names. Of men of science 87 per cent. were British, only 8 per cent. were Germans, and 5 per cent. other nationalities.

"The standards, aspirations, and moral and political ideals of the original English settlers not only dominate their own descendants, but permeate the body of immigrants of other races. The son of the immigrant into the United States finds himself at home in Canada, Australia, or Britain, while he feels himself a detached stranger within his own ancestral gates in Continental Europe."

Mr. Beer quotes with approval from Lord Milner that the work of England has not been to "anglicize" non-British races, but to add to their previous ideals "new vistas of culture and improvement." He quotes also from General Smuts: "We should not follow precedents but make them."

Economic Interdependence.

In this chapter Mr. Beer begins by deprecating the exaggeration of the economic factor. It is only one of many motives for human action. Mr. Beer recognizes that the Paris conference preparing for a "contest on the economic plane" and Lord Balfour's committee for developing imperial resources pointed to the probability of trade restriction in future. The entrance into the war of the United States has, however, profoundly modified the situation. President Wilson in his reply to the Pope, Aug. 29, 1917, has definitely denounced "selfish and exclusive economic leagues."

Carried to its logical conclusion the system of protection cannot fail to lead to international antagonisms.

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"It is essentially an indirect denial of the unity of mankind. Of all the great powers, England was the only one that steadfastly adhered to Free Trade, and, regardless of whether her policy was from the purely economic standpoint wise or injudicious, it had an inestimable moral value in fashioning among her leaders something that at least approached an international mind."

Although there is no indication that there will be any immediate step towards less restricted trade, yet the participation of the United States has made the "economic war after the war" highly improbable. And "it is quite clear that if the United States and the British Commonwealth were to join in a co-operative alliance the general arguments in favour of a protective policy would lose much of their force."

Such are Mr. Beer's views. He would no doubt object to being labelled in the fiscal controversy, but at heart he is apparently a free trader.

To a keen free trader Mr. Beer's line of argument is most suggestive. The old 18th century mercantilism was frankly in the interests of monopoly. "Ships, colonies and commerce" existed to support the mother country. The neo-mercantilism of our day has a different texture. It is more political and its strongest appeal is as a preparation for war. Now the great war has come. Immense wealth has been wasted, and innumerable lives, far more precious, have been sacrificed. But the spiritual air in which we live and move and have our being is getting clearer and clearer, and even the economic fog is beginning to lift. Commerce is not "a conflict between states," as some of our philosophers have vainly taught. On the contrary, it is the economic counterpart of friendliness. They act and react on each other. The greater the trade the greater the probability of friendly relations. The more friendly the relations the greater the trade.

Trade, it is true, cannot prevent war, nor fortunately can fiscal barriers prevent friendliness. But the influence is always there. Protection leads towards war, Free Trade towards peace.

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

Community of Policy.

In his final chapter Mr. Beer shows that, apart from cultural solidarity and common ideals of freedom, the United States and the British Commonwealth have many imperative reasons for acting together. Neither power has any aggressive ambitions. Both have quite enough work to do in developing their present possessions. Security from future attack is of course the first consideration. British sea power is an essential element. In the foreign policy of the United States the two principal points are the Monroe Doctrine and the Open Door in China. In both points the American and British interests coincide. The British Commonwealth is itself an American power and as interested as the United States in preventing the rise in South America of any German military state. In China also there is no conflict between us.

A firm and lasting British-American entente would have important consequences:—

1. Security from attack would be much increased.
2. Such security would be attained with the minimum burden of militarism, either financial or mental. Not only would the total cost per individual be lessened, but the smaller standing armies which would suffice for the entente would so far diminish in each country the evils of militarism.
3. From the security so obtained would follow "the future freedom of Latin America from European domination, the independence and integrity of China, and the rapidity with which self-government will be established in India."
4. The combined Anglo-American maritime and economic resources would provide the essential basis of any league of nations that may be formed after the war.

As a heading to his last chapter Mr. Beer gives three quotations—from President Lincoln, from General Smuts, and from President Wilson. These three quotations present so effectively the ideals of the English-speaking peoples that they are reproduced here in full:

President Lincoln, 19th November, 1863.

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in lib-

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erty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure.

General Smuts, 2nd April, 1917.

The British Empire is not founded on might or force, but on moral principles—on principles of freedom, equality and equity. It is these principles which we stand for to-day as an empire in this mighty struggle.

President Wilson, 2nd April, 1917.

We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretence about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included; for the rights of nations, great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy.

DUDLEY MILLS.

AT THE CHURCH OF THE CARPENTER.

I BECAME conscious of threading my way through a narrow street swarming with humanity. Sometimes I clung to the arm of a strong guide whose face I had not clearly seen. Sometimes the movement of many people parted us for a moment.

We were all moving in one direction. Around us were tall tenements with little shops in their basements. Between the house-walls and the crowded sidewalk were signs in many languages showing that in the rooms within people of many nationalities plied various trades.

We were among immigrants and workers at humble and scantily rewarded industries—among the strangers and the poor.

Over the crowding roofs floated the music of bells—and now I saw whither we were tending. At the end of the swarming street, a tall spire tapered upward.

We came—still preceded, surrounded and followed by streaming people—to a door, the entrance to a great building. This entrance though low was wide, admitting without congestion the multitude gathering towards it.

And now I saw that another human stream met and mingled with the stream from the tenements—"up town" people, "west end" people, dainty ladies, men whose faces wore the stamp of success.

Within the door came a check to the flow of the human stream.

Then I saw that women as well as men left their headgear and, if they so chose, their wraps, receiving checks therefor.

Attendants supplied to every one who entered a long robe, soft and light, made much on the lines of a college gown so that it slipped on easily.

As we stood, held back for a moment by the slight delay before us, my guide hitherto silent began to speak:

"The rich and poor are alike before God," said he, "alike they come into this house. No one is humiliated on account of his threadbare clothing. Young girls of slender means com-

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ing here are not disturbed by the sight of fineries which they will long for and desire to imitate."

"But the rich who come," said I, "are they willing to submit to such a custom?"

"If they were not in accord with the spirit of the place," he answered, "they would not be here."

Some of them perhaps will go from this service to places where rich and beautiful clothes are in order. Here they are willing to put on the church dress which has become almost a sacramental symbol. It reminds us that all worldly advantages or disadvantages are effaced when we stand in God's sight.

Now the melting of the crowd before us permitted us to approach and receive our garments. Mine was put about my shoulders by kindly hands and a light veil was thrown over my hair.

I noticed that all conversation among the people about us ceased and silence fell on each as soon as the robe of worship was put on.

My guide murmured: "I will tell you all that you wish to know afterward," and laid a finger on his lips.

The building in which we now found ourselves was filled with that indescribable spiritual influence—a form of thought transference, perhaps—left within the walls by multitudes who have worshipped and sought peace and pardon there.

In this it was like a church, but in almost all other respects different.

I got an impression of great space and light.

The opening chant had begun. I noticed that the music soared up not from a choir-loft in the rear, not from a chancel far away in front, but from the midst of the building, from the heart of the assemblage.

There the great choir was gathered, there was the organ, and there, raised high, after an old ecclesiastical fashion now well nigh abandoned, was the preacher's place.

The massed worshippers were on a floor which rose gently on all sides from this central space.

It was much the plan adopted long ago and far away to

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enable a great gathering to hear and see all that was said or done in Roman theatres and arenas.

"And the altar" I whispered—but my guide only smiled and laid a finger on his lips.

What was the service? I scarcely know. I heard familiar prayers, and some which I had never heard before. Most of the prayers were repeated by all the congregation together. The many voices were led in clear speaking tones by the choir. I noticed that while each prayer was being said, its words appeared in letters of red—the color of love—upon each of the four walls. My wonderment as to how this was managed was a passing thought soon lost amid a multitude of suggested queries, and in the many questions which I afterwards asked my guide I forgot to ask him this.

The Scripture lessons had been read by a reader whose delivery made his matter interesting and vital.

The preacher ascended the long stairs which lifted him, as it were, into the midst of his audience instead of taking him above it as would have been the case had the floor been level.

Even with the robe of worship covering figures and concealing dresses the diversity of classes, nationalities and occupations was evident and striking. I saw a dreamy poetic face and just behind it one which only its religious fervor redeemed from bestiality. I saw the financier type of face, the professional type, the physician's type. The high-bred lady stood shoulder to shoulder with one who might have been her charwoman. Hewers of wood and drawers of water muscular and shambling were close to the captain of industry with his keen alert glance and resolute mouth.

There were eyes still shifty from an evil past; eyes whose brightness had been quenched by many tears; eyes full of subdued fun or of the spirit of adventure—and I saw in the throng the eyes of a seer.

The preacher gave out many notices touching on the widespread and deeply rooted work of the church.

I gathered that it was as a mother to its people and to its neighborhood. To its ever ready sympathy came all perplexities, all needs, all problems. There was (as I by this time expected to hear) all the beneficent enterprise of the institu-

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tional church—its clubs and classes, its kindergarten, library, loan society, gymnasium, baths, sewing school and Dorcas society. Some notices I did not understand. They referred to phases of the work which when I saw them afterwards proved new to me.

What was the preacher's text? What were the heads of his sermon? I could not tell. Christ Himself was, as it were, brought down and set in the midst of us, the sense of His presence so strong, so immanent, so convincing that as we moved out with the multitude after the benediction, it seemed to me that any of the footsteps which led before us or followed on behind might have been His.

We went out among a throng subdued by the spirit of the place and in the ante-room just within the door I left my gown and veil and resumed my hat.

But when I rejoined my guide I noticed that he still wore his robe.

"It is my uniform of office," he said, "I am a helper in this place."

Just inside the outer door he paused. "You have seen our worship," he said; "now if you desire it you shall see our work."

When I eagerly assented he took me down a long corridor and opened a wide door. A hum of conversation and a savory smell of cooking issued forth and my guide led me into a great room prepared for a social meal.

I saw long tables with fair white cloths, and seated beside them were all sorts and conditions of men and women.

"This," said my guide, "is our mid-day church feast."

"You have heard it said 'Back to the fathers.' We try to go all the way back; to Christ and to those who, following immediately after Him, had received direct teaching from His personal daily associates. They were all under one roof breaking bread together."

I looked down the long tables and saw again the mingling of types and classes which had interested me in the morning worship.

Here indeed it was accentuated by differences in dress for the robe of worship had been laid aside.

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A tired tenement mother, relieved for the blessed moment from the weight and the demands of her youngest, ate in comfort a good meal which entailed no work on her. Beside her sat a man with refined face and splendid head, one of the assistant clergy or a teacher of the Sunday classes.

"Our poorest mothers," said my guide, "could not come to public worship at all if dinner for them and their families were not provided here. While the service is held their little ones are cared for in our day nursery and their older children are in Sunday school. Then all dine here, and in very many cases this is the only meal of the week which the house-mother does not prepare and clear away herself."

"Some of the Sunday school teachers are here," he added. "At that table are the older children." I noticed that the waiting was done by young people, chiefly by young men.

"These," said my guide, "are spiritual successors to those young men of old who 'saw that the widows were not neglected in the daily ministration.' They have eaten already with the younger Sunday school children; the children first because"—he smiled—"they are the hungriest; their teachers with them to keep harmony among them; these who serve us now because he is chief that doth serve,"

"This dining together," he went on, "is of the nature of a sacrament, and this roof is an introduction. All chat together whether they have met before or not."

I saw a college youth (or so I guessed him) who was one of the ministrants, bending over a man with a crippled hand to cut his meat for him, and thereby setting the wife free to chat undisturbed with her neighbor.

"After this meal is over," said my guide, "the younger women and girls of the congregation—by preference those who do no housework through the week—clear the tables and wash the dishes. Those who have prepared the meal are set free to attend the afternoon service."

My guide took me into a big cheery busy kitchen where the newly-arrived shift of dish washers were donning big gingham aprons. Beyond this great kitchen was a smaller one which connected with a little shop opening to the street. This was the diet dispensary where food was hygienically pre-

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pared for infants and for the sick, and then, said my guide, sold.

"We do not wish," he added, "to spoil business for the honest tradesman, nor to break down the honest pride of the poor. We find it better in the great majority of cases to charge a just though moderate price."

The church home as I saw blessed the neighborhood in many ways. As I had already learned from the notices read at the morning service, there were provisions for the relief, the education and the joy of the neighbors, such as every beneficial parish house affords.

But some of the church enterprises were new to me. It printed an endowed newspaper which considered the questions of the day without monetary bias, political prejudice or personal interest or fear.

There was a laundry to which the tenement mother could bring her week's wash. There she did the work under competent supervision in the society of her peers and with better facilities for the work than any tenement house can afford. Her baby meantime was cared for in the creche. Her little home was relieved of heat, steam and confusion. Under training these women had so improved and did their own work with so much less fatigue that now outside work was taken.

"And we think of a laundry school here," said my guide, "where we will do not only our own washing—all the linen used in our parish house work—but also will take in work from our friends. While this work is done under competent supervision, the girls will learn to do it properly. And some of our young workers must learn this household industry for they will probably teach it later here or in our training school."

"The training school"? said I. "Oh, yes!" said he, "we have a training school for Christian workers—the School of the Carpenter. It does not encroach upon the ground of the Theological College; it is utterly practical. One of our women graduates can go into a disordered squalid home and bring order out of chaos there. She has learned household economics, cooking, sewing and convalescent nursing."

"Our men in training learn handicrafts which they will

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teach later in our evening school, and accounting, as adapted to institutional work. Library work is taught in our school, and pedagogy, and something of the race history and psychology of the foreign peoples with whom we have to deal. And we have not much time left for Hebrew roots nor for histories of dead heresies."

"The training school," he pursued, "has its own building connected with this parish house. There are our class rooms, and this is our laboratory."

We saw the closed doors, behind which on week days the loan association had its offices. "We lend," said my guide, "hoping for nothing again, but our borrowers almost always pay us back. They think of those others passing through the same straits from which a timely loan has redeemed themselves. They realize that unless they pay their debts the work cannot go on."

"Only yesterday," he said, "we set a pedlar up again in business. He had his stock, his harness and cart and the confidence of the people along his route. We lent him enough to buy another horse. I have not the least doubt that he will repay us."

We were now passing another closed door over which I read "Counsellor's Office." Underneath the panels, slipped into a groove provided for it, was a card which read "Engaged."

"We must not go in," said my guide. "That is, in a sense, our Confessional. People who shrink from the publicity and expense of court bring their differences here, and we find that matters can often be adjusted without bitterness. And sorely perplexed people bring their difficulties here to be solved, perhaps by a sympathetic and unbiassed mind. In this room, under God's blessing, madness and suicide have been averted."

We were now opposite another heavy closed door, but this one my guide opened. Within it was a space two or three feet wide and then a second heavy door.

I have seen a similar device between a hospital corridor and the operating room. But the opening of the inner door was a surprise.

We entered a hushed dim chapel shadowy except where

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screened lights flung all their radiance upon a great mural painting of Christ the Consoler. Under the picture, I read, in letters of gold upon the wall: "What prayer and supplication soever be made by any man, which shall know, every man, the plague of his own heart,—hear Thou in Heaven Thy dwelling place, and when Thou hearest, forgive."

After a while I began to see that figures knelt here and there in the shadows. My guide held up a quieting hand and we noiselessly withdrew.

As we silently closed the outer door, he drew my attention to a lettering of gold above the lintel, "Come in, Rest and Pray."

"This little chapel for prayer," he said, "is, as you see, in the midst of our industries. Our busy people pass its door very often. If this were in a remoter part of the building it would not make this frequent appeal. And the builders' devices have ensured quiet even here.

We drew towards an open doorway through which poured the afternoon sun, and the confused murmur of swarming streets.

"We think," he said, answering my unspoken thought, "that where the need of the people is greatest there the church should be, and at her best—among the strangers and the poor."

"Where," I assented, "Christ would have been Himself." "Yes," he said.

"But," I objected, "He had Nicodemus and you have your rich. Are they willing to come down here?"

"The distance has not deterred them," he responded.

We stood together without in all the glory of the sun.

"I remember," he said, "that you asked about the altar. Is your question answered now?"

"Yes," said I with sudden comprehension, "the whole church is the altar."

"The whole church is the altar," he repeated. "The place of sacrifice where pride and selfishness are laid down; the place of pardon where he who has made his sacrifice receives the blessing of peace.

"Altars were built in the old days out in the wilderness with piles of rough stones, and these God accepted.

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"Altars are built now of costly materials with elaborate art, yet to God these may be unacceptable because no sacrifice is offered there. It is the sacrifice that hallowes the altar. Can the form or place or materials of the altar matter to God?"

"Christ gave us," he reminded me, "neither a creed nor a ritual."

As my guide stood in the light I saw that the robe of worship which he still wore had undergone a change. It was now white and shot with gleams of gold.

His face was beautiful beyond description. He lifted His hands as if in blessing. I bowed before him. When I could lift my face, and could see—I was alone.

MAUD GOING.

Montreal.

THE JEWS OF MARLOWE AND SHAKESPEARE.

CHARLES LAMB attributes to Shakespearean study a "withdrawing from all selfish and mercenary thoughts," a lesson of all sweet and honourable thoughts and actions, to teach you courtesy, benignity, generosity, humanity." And all will agree that tolerance of "God's cheerful fallible men and women" would result from having much to do with these plays. If anything, the unpuritan form of their philosophy of life, in as far as they have one, might lead one perhaps too far in *tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner*; and yet that would be true only of the weak or misled, of those at least with stifled good in them, like Macbeth or like Shylock; because Shakespeare does make us meet fiends and demi-devils, Goneril and Iago; and his readers share his horror thereat. Nor indeed does one ever, after his pictures, think he hesitates or would have us say "evil be thou my good." Badness is badness in this old-fashioned moralist; however pitiful or however amusing be the victims or the fools in that chaos.

But Lamb finds noble utterance, high wisdom, sympathy, tenderness without lapse in taste, pathos without any false note, in those also who wrote in Shakespeare's world. True he leads his followers astray in so far as he leads them to expect these splendid things as they find them in *Othello*, *Hamlet*, *King Lear*. Plays sustained on the level of those, there are not among Shakespeare's contemporaries. And yet Chapman, for instance, writes, boldly, the following greatness, in which *Hamlet* and *Lear* do not shame to see themselves reproduced:

"Give me a spirit that on life's rough sea
Loves to have his sails filled with a lusty wind,
Ev'n till his sail-yards tremble, his mast crack,
And his rapt ship run on her side so low,
That she drinks water, and her keel ploughs air.
There is no danger to a man, that knows
What life and death is."

And Webster's good duchess, whom her brothers will murder for her marriage that displeased them, is as fine in simplicity

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as that "child to chiding" Desdemona, or pathetic as Lear kneeling to Cordelia.

"I pray thee look thou givest my little boy
Some syrup for his cold; and let the girl
Say her prayers ere she sleep.—Now what you please;
What death?

Bosolo Strangling. Here are your executioners.

Duchess I forgive them."

What dreadful jarring notes, what painful mis-colouring would the melodramatic Victor Hugos or Rostands introduce in touching on such pure romance.

Again, Beaumont and Fletcher may bring their Philaster, with his page Bellario in modest disguise as a man, and may submit that Viola is not all beyond compare. Philaster is jealous of the disguised maiden, young Bellario, favoured by Philaster's princess.

Phi. "I will take thy life,
For I do hate thee; I could curse thee now.

Bell. If you do hate, you could not curse me worse,
The gods have not a punishment in store
Greater for me than is your hate.

Phi. Fie, fie,
So young and so dissembling! fear'st thou not death?
Can boys contemn that?

Bell. O, what boy is he
Can be content to live to be a man,
That sees the best of men thus passionate,
Thus without reason?

Phi. O, but thou dost not know what 'tis to die.

Bell. Yes, I do know, my lord!
'Tis less than to be born; a lasting sleep,
A quiet resting from all jealousy;
A thing we all pursue; I know besides
It is but giving over of a game
That must be lost."*

And in *Edward II* of Marlowe, Charles Lamb finds the pity of the death of that helpless and lamentable trifler, more moving than the sorrowful ending of greater sufferers:—

*And yet, this is not the stern Nature of of Coriolanus:

"To jump a body with a dangerous physic

That's sure of death without it"—

as if one heard Brahms after Mendelssohn.

THE JEWS OF MARLOWE AND SHAKESPEARE

Edward "This dungeon where they keep me in a sink
Wherein the filth of all the castle falls.

.
And there, in mire and puddle have I stood
This ten days' space; and lest that I should sleep,
One plays continually upon a drum.
They give me bread and water, being a king;
So that, for want of sleep and sustenance,
My mind's distemper'd; and my body's numb'd,
And whether I have limbs or no I know not.
O, would my blood drop out from every vein,
As doth this water from my tatter'd robes!
Tell Isabel the queen, I looked not thus,
When for her sake I ran at tilt in France,
And there unhors'd the duke of Cleremont.

Lightborn O, speak no more, my lord! this breaks my heart.

(a murderer) Lie on this bed, and rest yourself awhile.

Edward These looks of thine can harbour naught but death:
I see my tragedy, written in thy brows.
Yet stay awhile, forbear thy bloody hand,
And let me see the stroke before it comes,
That even then when I shall lose my life,
My mind may be more steadfast on my God."

But Marlowe wrote greater verse than that. And if his mighty lines have much rubbish round them, there they are. Even in ranting thought:

"Come let us march against the powers of heaven,
And set black streamers in the firmament,
To signify the slaughter of the gods."

and in the greater strength in weakness of this ending's perfectness

"See where slave, the ugly monster Death,
Shaking and quivering, pale and wan for fear,
Stands aiming at me with his murdering dart,
Who flies away at every glance I give,
And when I look away, comes stealing on."

And has this mighty blank verse the greatness of an inventor, more perhaps than can be claimed for Shakespeare, following anywhere with anything like to these next-quoted words from his fore-runner?

"Think'st thou that I, that saw the face of God,
And tasted the eternal joys of heaven,
Am not tormented with ten thousand hells,
In being depriv'd of everlasting bliss?"

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The next lacks, perhaps the thoughtfulness and inevitable sincerity of the older Shakespeare, on suicide:

"And long ere this should I have done the deed,
Had not sweet pleasure conquered deep despair"

Think of Brutus, like his very self:

"Even by the rule of that philosophy,
By which I did blame Cato for the death,
Which he did give himself, I know not how,
But I do find it cowardly and vile,
For fear of what might fall so to prevent
The time of life: arming myself with patience
To stay the providence of some high powers
That govern ps below."

And yet,

think not

That ever Brutus will go bound to Rome;
He bears too great a mind."

Nevertheless, no unreality need be heard in these beautiful lines below, if Barabas has in him to rejoice in, and not merely gloat over, the flowing tide of his riches:

"Mine argosies from Alexandria,
Laden with spice and silks, now under sail,
Are smoothly gliding down by Candy shore
To Malta through our Mediterranean sea."

What exquisite modulation in that last line.

Everyone must read the passage with more pleasure in melody, than one reads Bassanio's words—even if not with so great a sense of dramatic sincerity and inevitableness from the character speaking—

"Have all his ventures fail'd? What, not one hit?
From Tripolis, from Mexico and England,
From Lisbon, Barbary and India?
And not one vessel 'scape the dreadful touch
Of merchant-marring rocks?"

However, the point of all that has been noted, for him and others, is, that one must not mislead oneself into fancying that Marlowe's better manner, not to say matter, keeps at the level sustained in a Shakespearean play.

And one can find in *The Jew of Malta* and *The Merchant of Venice* several passages to suggest comparison, but also, rather, contrast:—

THE JEWS OF MARLOWE AND SHAKESPEARE

Barabas' ships are safe arrived; and he to merchants; in the poor old manner of line upon line:—

“Thus trolls our fortune in by land and sea,
And thus are we one every side enrich'd:
These are the blessings promis'd to the Jews,
And herein was old Abraham's happiness:
What more may Heaven do for earthly man
Than thus to pour out plenty in their laps,
Ripping the bowels of the earth for them,
Making the sea their servants, and the winds
To drive their substance with successful blasts?
Who hateth me but for my happiness?
Or who is honour'd now but for his wealth?
Rather had I, a Jew, be hated thus,
Than pitied in a Christian poverty;
For I can see no fruits in all their faith,
But malice, falsehood, and excessive pride,
Which methinks fits not their profession.
Haply some hapless man hath conscience,
And for his conscience lives in beggary.
They say we are a scatter'd nation:
I cannot tell; but we have scrambled up
More wealth by far than those that brag of faith:”

And now Shakespeare's Jew—on faith and on fortune; not that (as in Marlowe talking through Barabas), these are ever linked in the sneers of impiety.*

“I'll have my bond; I will not hear thee speak:
I'll have my bond; and therefore speak no more.”

What likeness in unlikeness in those repeating lines, with no monotony.

*Charles Lamb's note on Marlowe and irreligion is:

“Marlowe is said to have been tainted with atheistical positions, to have denied God and the Trinity. To such a genius the History of Faustus must have been delectable food: to wander in fields where curiosity is forbidden to go, to approach the dark gulf near enough to look in, to be busied in speculations which are the rottenest part of the core of the fruit that fell from the Tree of Knowledge. Barabas the Jew, and Faustus the Conjuror, are offsprings of a mind which at least delighted to dally with interdicted subjects. They both talk a language which a believer would have been tender of putting into the mouth of a character, though but in fiction.”

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"I'll not be made a soft and dull-eyed fool,
To shake the head, relent,, and sigh, and yield
To Christian intercessors."

And to the Duke:

"I have possess'd your grace of what I purpose,
And by our holy sabbath have I sworn
To have the due and forfeit of my bond."

"I hate him for he is a Christian,
But more for that in low simplicity
He lends out money gratis and brings down
The rate of usance."

They both are Jews, rich but scorned, merciless but cunning.

"We Jews can fawn like spaniels when we please,
And when we grin we bite; yet are our looks
As innocent and harmless as a lamb's.
I learned in Florence how to kiss my hand,
Heave up my shoulders when they call me dog,
And duck as low as any bare-foot friar."

That last touch is of Marlowe, not of Shakespeare, with his Friar Lawrence, the "dear father," of Romeo and Juliet turning his kind wits for those hapless children of fate; and with his *Measure for Measure* Duke, if a "good friar,"

"Bound by my charity and my blest order
[To] come to visit the afflicted spirits
Here in the prison."

Nor would Shylock, I think, have insulted his synagogue as Barabas insults, who hoped the Christians would be so poor they should "be gather'd for in our synagogue"; and then for him the chance,

"That when the offering bason comes to me,
Even for charity I may spit into 't."

Besides, how stagey in a worse sense the soliloquizing there of Barabas about Jew characteristics. How it contrasts with the almost proud fierceness in Shylock's suppressed passion, yet coming to an end with fawning for his gain:

"You, that did void your rheum upon my beard
And foot me as you spurn a stranger cur
Over your threshold: moneys is your suit.

"Hath a dog money? Is it possible
A cur can lend three thousand ducats?" Or

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Shall I bend low and in a bondman's key,
With 'bated breath and whispering humbleness,

Antonio

If thou wilt lend this money, lend it not
As to thy friends

Shylock

Why, look you, how you storm!
I would be friends with you and have your love;
Forget the shames that you have stained me with;
Supply your present wants, and take no doit
Of usance for my moneys."

Sensitive, Shylock is, for his "sacred nation"; if without feeling personal stain of honour as a wound; for he will stoop, and feed upon the prodigal Christian; he will feed fat the ancient grudge he bears to such an one. Yet he has his honorable house, his domestic virtues, the dignity of a well-ordered and careful, if miserly, life, and the constant self-control. Does he burst out wildly, raising triumphant extended arms, with "I thank God, I thank God", as if to deal crashing blows on the stricken merchant's head? So Barrett played it. Or is it rather, again, a suppressing of passion, in his utter satisfaction, yet murmuring half stifled, deadly revengeful, and needfully cunning plans, in his thanking God that He has put his enemy under his feet, though the persecuted Jew will never feel sure, while a victim lives, that really he can be a conqueror. And when there is a rescue of the merchant, the Jew knows he can look for no help; he will stay no longer question. The pent-up passion of his daringest hope for a triumph of the railed-at tribe, has been burning in the old man's life; and the beating out of the flame crushed him to death.

He had lost control, in his loss upon loss, jeered at, hunted, tortured. He is eaten up with passion, and would feed revenge against him who had "laughed at my losses, mocked at my gains, scorned my nation, thwarted my bargains, cooled my friends, heated mine enemies." And the nobler Shylock denounces the sins against the humanity to which he would not himself be true, or to falseness against which he had been driven. For Antonio's are cold and infamous insults.

"What's his reason? I am a Jew."

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And at that word Shylock gives way:

"Hath not a Jew eyes? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is?"

It may not be too high a word to say: "What the wronged and friendless Jew has lost in the dignity of composure, he has gained in the dignity of suffering." Yet, it is with the regaining of control, that there comes the letting out of the long-vowed hateful retaliation; and the note of cunning ending in a growl:

"The villany you teach me I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction."

It is like the puddling of Othello's clearer spirit—his honest shamed humility:

"Haply for I am black

And have not those soft parts of conversation
That chamberers have, or for I am declined
Into the vale of years,—yet that's not much—
She's gone,"

followed by the more brutal

"I had rather be a toad

And live upon the vapour of a dungeon,
Than . . ."

Or his great

"Farewell! Othello's occupation's gone"—

struggling swiftly, after, with his poisoner, he himself frenzied, raging; then swept into madness. And yet, even later, his words that a great actor noted as, "with all the pathos you are capable of":

"Had it pleased heaven

To try me with afflictions; had they rain'd
All kinds of sores and shames on my bare head,

.

I should have found in some place of my soul
A drop of patience."

But they too burn to horror, to bewildered loathing.

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And if one says that the Moor of Venice had a noble past, its Jew only a mean one; is it so? The ring his dead wife gave Shylock before marrying him he treasured, if smudged by his manhood's greed; his swindling madcap servant touches him kindly by any seeming-honest word; he is a hard dull father, but watchful for the frivolous, heartless young woman that was his daughter.* And he too raises an exceeding bitter cry:

"And no satisfaction, no revenge, nor no ill luck stirring but what lights on my shoulders; no sighs but of my breathing; no tears but of my shedding."

And yet, if it is: "My own flesh and blood to rebel!" it is the greater curse that she has robbed her father in deserting him, and the house that to her was hell. But she had far less neglect and utter baseness to complain of than had the daugh-

*Perhaps another witness to Shakespeare's sympathy, to the poet's sense of what were and are Jewish charities of relationship may be cited in the late Michael Davitt's *Within the Pale* (1903). The most undesirable Jews in Russia, the small huckstering class, are indeed three-fourths of the whole. But, adds this book: "They are not a drunken nor an abnormally immoral class." He noted "the healthy looks of their children, even amidst some of the most wretched surroundings. This is a good testimony to personal character and civic qualities. In England the children of the lowest classes are neglected and underfed by parents who expend in gin and beer what would provide more nourishment for their offspring. There is no corresponding bad trait in the average proletarian Jew of the Pale." (p. 247).

And ten years later, an English Jesuit preacher, Faather Vaughan: "He was glad to bear witness to the many fine and splendid qualities in which Jews were object lessons to them all. They are good husbands and wives, kind and careful parents; they are indulgent to their sick and charitable to the poor; while all over the world he found them to be excellent citizens, sober, patient, industrious, and thrifty."

Cf. A. Leroy-Beaulieu, 'Les Juifs et l'Antisémitisme' (*Rev. des Deux Mondes*, 15 juillet, 1891): "Le juif est peut-être la plus affectueux des hommes; mais toute la sensibilité il la garde pour les siens, pour sa famille, et pour son peuple . . . Le juif était homme, lui aussi; Shakespeare l'a senti d'instinct sans Shylock; mais la juif n'était homme qu'avec ses frères, avec ceux qui le traitaient en hommes. . . . La famille a toujours été la refuge des juifs. Il en a en les vertus. . . Il a été bon père, bon fils, bon époux. . . Rien ni lui ressemble moins qu'il *La Juif de Malte*, *La Barrabas de Marlowe*, furieux et féroce."

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ter and son of Molière's Avare. And they but pretended to rob their wretched father Harpagon. The misery of miser life is treated not less seriously in the comedy. Here it is indeed a tragedy. It is the ruin of a soul, as of Macbeth's. And hardly less complete than the withered waste of the life that the once conscience-vexed murderer had made into a mere signifying of nothing, is the complacency of the money-blinded soul of Shylock fearing not judgment, as doing no wrong.

But it does not seem unreal to recall here about Shylock, what Lady Martin (Helen Faucit) said of Lady Macbeth's sigh in her troubled sleep:

"In that long drawn sigh I think I hear more than the moaning of a wild beast captured, and wounded to death: I think I hear in it the measureless anguish of a human soul."

Rowe's wise if not sympathetic note, in 1709, was

"That incomparable character of Shylock the Jew in *The Merchant of Venice*, though we have seen that play received and acted as a comedy, and the part of the Jew performed by an excellent comedian, yet I cannot but think it was designed tragically by the author. There appears in it such a deadly spirit of revenge, such a savage fierceness and fellness, and such a bloody designation of cruelty and mischief, as cannot agree with the style or characters of comedy."

In the 18th century, Shylock was introduced drinking a toast to his lady Money. But, in the 19th century, we know that Irving ventured to play *The Merchant of Venice* with the tragic fourth-act ending for the whole play, of Shylock's withdrawal, when the young lady mentioned by Heine—she was 'sensible', in both meanings—exclaimed: "The poor man is wronged." He had been, indeed. He had deserved it. But

"Earthly power doth then show likest God's
When mercy tempers justice."

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And the injustice of justice was not absent from the mind of the maker of that unwise old man, King Lear, or that rash young man who would fight and stay, in torment for Juliet.

Sir Henry Irving's own words were:

"My idea of Shylock is that he was a man of refinement and education bitterly smarting under the treatment to which he had been subjected by many men far coarser trained and less cultured than himself; he is not a common low Jew, but a man with [fine] qualities, though not without a certain vindictiveness and cruelty almost forced upon him by the injustice and brutality of others."

Still, Shylock was sunk in miser passion; and if he knew and even felt higher affections, he was a slave to his terrible money-getting. Like Malbecco—*Faerie Queene* iii, 10, 15:

"Both was he loth to loose his loved Dame,
And loth to leave his liefest pelfe behinde;
Yet, sith he n'ote [ne mote] save both, he sav'd that
same
Which was the dearest to his dounghill minde,
The God of his desire, the joy of misers blinde."

Finally, the Christian enemy provides for the Jew that perforce

"He presently become a Christian."

Though, as nigh a thousand years 'ago, a Pope—Alexander II, in 1065—reprimanded a prince who had forced Jews to baptism, in what Calixtus II called putting a premium on deceit, and, as in our day, Leo XIII's *Immortale Dei* would protect Shylock; for "no one is to be forced to accept the faith; since St. Augustine rightly said, no one can believe of his own will." And did not Sixtus V—1585-1590—rescue a Jew who had wagered a pound of his flesh that Francis Drake had not sacked San Domingo? His Christian opponent won. The Pope of Shylock's creator's day threatened the Christian with death, if he should cut "even an ounce more or less." And indeed Gregory X (Oct. 7, 1272) had laid down: "Since Jews cannot bear testimony against Christians, we decree that the

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testimony of Christians against Jews shall be of no avail unless there is a Jew bearing testimony among them."

Nevertheless, there had been plenty of "give a Jew dog a bad name," without the dog doing anything.

In Gower's 14th century *Confessio Amantis* vii:

"I am a Jewe, and by my lande
I shall to no man be felawe
To kepe him trowth in word ne dede."

As, by the way, in a modern Professor's *Grammar for Romanians*; a Christian example: "You must not believe the word of a Jew, even when he lies at the point of death." It is in Roumania, of all the world at war, that anti-Semitism is triumphant by law of the land. Though a condition of the German peace is now equal rights for Jews.

Then, 14th century, *Piers Plowman*, xviii, 104, Faith reproves Jews:

"Ye cherles, and youre children chiene [thrive] shall ye
neuere,
Ne have lordship in lond ne no londe tylle [till]
But al bareyne be and vsurye vsen,
Which is lyf þat owre lorde in alle lawes acurseth."

What would Pope Gregory I* have preached to the world that Shylock knew, he who had taught the Antonios, the Gracianos, of his day: "We must seek by kindness and manifestations of love, by exhortation and instruction, to win them over to the faith; so that those whom a gentle policy might induce to join the Church shall not be frightened away by threats and scenes of terror"?

Those passages and facts have been cited in the *Jewish World* by the Rev. D. Wasserzug. He says:

*As even Mr. Lucien Wolf, though writing under the influence of "all-consuming indignation and strong passion" (*Nineteenth Century*, Feb. 1881), allows; stating that though St. Gregory in 600, "revived, in his attempt to extinguish slavery, the old order of Constantius," of 357, forbidding the employment of Christian slaves by Jews, yet, "it must be confessed," he "was otherwise disposed to treat the Jews with justice."

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“Though the Jews of Europe were never secure against the ferocious outbreaks of peoples who had none of them fully emerged from the savage state, it would be unjust, as well as unhistorical, not to acknowledge the efforts of many of the Popes and other high ecclesiastical dignitaries to accord them the protection of the Church.”

Lewis Carroll, theologically if not critically, would have had Popes on his very Protestant side, when he would strike out

“He presently become a Christian.”

He wrote of the passage as offending all now, “or all but some extreme Calvinists.”

One thinks of a special attack on Jews in more than one country—an attack often made. One thinks again of the liberality of Rome as against local outbursts of fanaticism among Christians. For as the *Jewish Chronicle* wrote in 1899, so it had cause to write in 1913:

“At each recrudescence of these abhorrent imputations of blood against our people, the voice of the slanderer has been silenced by the more potent voice of the Holy See . . .* ”

In the dark ages the Holy See vindicated its claim to be regarded as the representative of Right and Justice, and granted even to the Jew—‘the despised and rejected of men’—the public verdict of acquittal and the aegis of protection due to the innocent. May history so again repeat itself in these our times.”

But perhaps some may have cause to recall the historian. Goldwin Smith** was inclined to think the mediaeval hos-

*Clement VI's bull for protection of Jews, in 1350—given in Pastor's *History of the Popes*, I. 89.

And more especially consider what was done for the Jews by Gregory X.

**‘The Jewish Question,’ *Nineteenth Century*, Oct. 1881. (In criticism of ‘A Jewish View of the Anti-Jewish Agitation,’ by Lucien Wolf; *Ib.* Feb. 1881). “The root of the mischief lies . . . in the relation in which they stand to the native races of the countries wherein they take

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tility to Jews more economical than religious. The Anglican cleric and general historical observer, Baring Gould, sees them waiting spider-like for the impoverished peasants. And it must be considered that the Jew was a money-lender, not only because many other ways of life were closed to him, but because he had no Christian conscience about usury. Goldwin Smith: "We have have given up the fancy that the Jew is accursed. We must cease to believe that he is sacred." That

up their abode as a wandering and parasitic race, . . . to live on the labours of others by means of usury and other pursuits of the same sort. They are not the only instance of the kind. The Armenians are another, the Parsees a third; the Greeks were fast becoming a fourth, when happily alike for them and other nations their country was restored to them."

. . . Like the expulsion of the Jews from St. Edmondsbury by Abbot Samson, the banishment of the whole race from England by Edward I (1290), was unquestionably intended by the King and welcomed by the nation as a measure of social relief to the people. The execution of the measure was marked by savage outbursts of popular passion against the objects of general hatred; and Jewish writers may be easily forgiven for denouncing Edward as one of a set of 'insolent, rapacious, and unprincipled tyrants whose virtues, if they happened to possess any, were overshadowed by their crimes.' But this is not history. Edward was as great, as noble-minded, and as beneficent a king as ever sat upon the English throne; and he must have made no small fiscal sacrifice in sending away the luckless race whose craft had filled his coffers and those of his predecessors. The situation was throughout miserable; its consequences while it lasted were deplorable; its termination was hideous and heart-rending: but the English people had never invited the Jews to England.

In Spain the situation was still worse than in England, and the consequences were still more hideous."

"The Jew," said Renan, ". . . has insinuated himself everywhere, claiming the benefit of common rights. But in reality he has not been within the pale of common rights; he has kept his status apart; he has wanted to have the same securities as the rest, with his exceptional privileges and special laws into the bargain. He has wished to enjoy the advantages of nationality without being a member of the nation, or bearing his share of national burdens. And this no people has ever been able to endure." Goldwin Smith was of opinion that the Germans should not endure it. But an article, in the same review, Sept. 1898, signed Oswald John Simon, on 'The Return of the Jews to Palestine,' objects to this "political Zionism"; because "The People of the Book, if they are

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was in the days of Daniel Deronda;† but in those, also, of the writer's *bête noire*, the *Jew Disraeli*.

Sir Sidney Lee, himself a Jew, notes a reason for Shylock's creation shortly after 1594, that in that year Roderigo Lopez, Elizabeth's Jew physician, was put to death for conspiracy to poison the Queen; and there was popular anti-Semitism. And so a critic goes on to note how characteristic of the practical Shakespeare it was, thus to write something up to date.

But was it? Any way, Marlowe's Jew is before 1591. And Shakespeare's Jew is *much* less a call to anti-Semitism than that; if any such call it be.

A Jewish writer on 'Shylock' will indeed have it that:

"This picture is untrue in every heinous [*sic*] detail. The Jew is not revengeful as Shylock. Our very religion is opposed to the practice of revenge, the 'lex talionis' having never been taken literally, but interpreted to mean full compensation for injuries. The Jew, in all his history, is never known to have exacted a pound of human flesh cut from the living body as forfeit for a bond. Such was an ancient Roman practice. Shylock can be nothing more than a caricature of the Jew; and yet the world has applauded this abortion of literature, this con-

anything at all, are the hereditary guardians of religious ideas which are to signify union, not separation. . . . The entire history of Judaism for two thousand years has been the history of martyrdom for a religious idea. Within five or six generations the ancestors of the English Jews were in the same state of oppression and misery as the Jews of Russia to-day. But are we to sacrifice the history of thousands of years because Russia is backward, and because Austria or France shows symptoms of retrogression? Let us rather endure further suffering for a few more generations yet, then take a plunge which would stultify our past and stifle the sublime aspirations of the future."

†"Miss Martineau, after renouncing Theism, indemnified herself with mesmeric fancies. The authoress of 'Daniel Deronda' in like manner indemnified herself with the Jewish mystery. No Jewish mystery, except a financial one, exists. Daniel Deronda is a showman who, if, after taking our money, he were desired to raise the curtain, would be obliged to confess that he had nothing to show."—*Goldwin Smith*.

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tortion of the truth, more than the ideal portrait which Lessing drew of Israel in his *Nathan the Wise*.*

Nathan is, of course, a philosophical saint of pacific humanity, and international good will, and tolerant theory of Deism, the universal religion of benevolence.

Nathan.

"A few days

Before, the Christians murdered every Jew in Gath,
Woman and child; . . . among these, my wife
With seven hopeful sons were found, who all
Beneath my brother's roof which they had fled to,
Were burnt alive.

Friar.

Just God!

Nathan.

And when you came,

Three nights had I in dust and ashes lain
Before my God and wept—aye, and at times
Arraigned my maker, raged, and cursed myself,
And the whole world, and to Christianity
Swore unrelenting hate.

Friar.

Ah! I believe you.

Nathan. But, by degrees, returning reason came,
She spake with gentle voice

Friar. Nathan, you are a Christian! Yes, by God
You are a Christian—never was a better.

Nathan. Heaven bless us! What makes me to you a Christian
Makes you to me a Jew."

The Christian woman, companion to his daughter, says,

"Who questions, Nathan, but that you are
Honour and generosity in person?"

Nathan says to the Templar:

*Still, when, in February 1913, in New York, the School Board prohibited the *Merchant of Venice*, for fear of the Jews—though, afterwards, the prohibition was withdrawn—the New York *Sun* remarked that there was "no need for all the pother, since according to the reading of the character most favoured in recent times, Shylock was an uncommonly fine fellow; . . . a picture, as Ellen Terry describes it, of a 'heroic saint'."

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“We must, we will be friends. Despise my nation—
We did not choose a nation for ourselves.
Are we our nations? What’s a nation then?
Were Jews and Christians such, e’er they were men?”

And Recha the Jewess to Daya the Christian handmaid:

“When was I not all ear, if thou beganst
To talk about the heroes of thy faith?

.

Yet, therefore have I only learnt
To find more consolation in the thought,
That our devotion to the God of all
Depends not on our notions about God.”

And the philosophizing good Friar:

“For is not
Christianity all built on Judaism?
Oh, it has often vexed me, cost me tears,
That Christians will forget so often that
Our Saviour was a Jew.”

But, as has been noticed already, there is little reason to take Shakespeare’s Jew as a manifesto against the tribe of Shylock, though he depict him not as a Lessingite Deist.

Certainly Marlowe was before Shakespeare, in date, with this something much more fit to inspire the hatred or contempt of a mob. And Shakespeare’s Shylock perhaps departed as far from Marlowe’s Barabas as the good preachment of *Nathan der Weise* from even the most misjudged victim of Portia’s schemes and his own.

The Jew of Malta was written before 1591. The long nose with which Barabas is presented must have suggested some sort of a monster being. And indeed he is a sort of conjuror, planning murders and explosions and massacres, which, as Charles Lamb says, cease to affect one much, so common is the blood.

“I walk abroad a-nights,
And kill sick people groaning under walls;
Sometimes I go about and poison wells.”

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Barabas studied physic, and killed so many he "enriched priests with burials", and kept sextons' arms busy

"With digging graves, and ringing dead men's knells."

Then an engineer, in the wars, he

"Slew friend and enemy with my stratagems."

As a usurer, he

"filled the jails with bankrupts in a year,
And with young orphans planted hospitals;
And every moon made some or other mad;
And now and then one hang himself for grief,
Pinning upon his breast a long great scroll
How I with interest tormented him.
But mark how I am blest for plaguing them;
I have as much coin as will buy the town."

Not that he thinks the Christians live up to their profession.
His judgment already quoted is:

"For I can see no fruits in all this faith,
But malice, falsehood, and excessive pride."

So, at the end

"He from whom my most advantage comes,
Shall be my friend.
This is the life we Jews are us'd to lead;
And reason too, for Christians do the like."

That sounds like the author's common thesis of defiance or railing, a young man's cynicism, born of his own failings, and also of his surprise and indignation at the failings of others: the young revolutionary spirits, ready to reform—others.

We start off with the attempt at Barabas' 'conversion' in the very first scene. If he will pay the governor who needs funds, then he must become a Christian. Barabas, struggling to get out of his toils:

"Preach me not out of my possessions.
Some Jews are wicked, as all Christians are,"

throws us at once, unprepared, into what would be the tragedy of Barabas' agony, robbed and ruined; only that it is more like Isaac of York when pretending that he had no more gold. Though indeed Isaac's danger soon seems real and terrible—as it was. Here are Barabas' words that are the nearest to be suggestive of the cry from the heart sorely charged of Shylock, householder and home liver, if good hater and financier:

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‘Well there my lord, say are you satisfied?
You have my goods, my money, and my wealth,
My ships, my store, and all that I enjoy’d;
And having all, you can request no more,
Unless your unrelenting, flinty hearts
Suppress all pity in your stony breasts,
And now shall move you to bereave my life.”

It is indeed a Shakespeare re-creation, when one hears and feels—the nobler soul in every man must meet and join—

“Nay take my life and all; pardon not that;
You take my house, when you do take the prop
That doth sustain my house; you take my life
When you do take the means whereby I live.”

Thus, as follows, Marlowe’s Jew mightily storms, and rants in lines not mighty:

“My gold, my gold, and all my wealth is gone!
You partial Heavens, have I deserved this plague?
What will you thus oppose me, luckless stars,
To make me desperate in my poverty?
And, knowing me impatient in distress,
Think me so mad as I will hang myself,
That I may vanish o’er the earth in air,
And leave no memory that e’er I was.
No, I will live.”

And he falls a-cursing:

“The plagues of Egypt, and the curse of Heaven,
Earth’s barrenness, and all men’s hatred,
Inflict upon them, thou great *Primus Motor*!
And here upon my knees, striking the earth,
I ban their souls to everlasting pains,
And extreme tortures of the fiery deep,
That thus have dealt with me in my distress.”

But this is half put on. For he has other stores not yet discovered.

Contrast, indeed, once more, Shylock’s passion and entreating

“Why, thou loss upon loss! the thief gone with so much,
and so much to find the thief; and no satisfaction, no revenge; nor no ill luck stirring but what lights on my shoulders; no sighs but of my breathing; no tears but of my shedding.”

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One would as soon expect such tears of humanity, such heart sighs and groaning of spirit from Barabas as from any gross charlatan haled before a judge.

But Barabas too has an only daughter. This Abigail is to aid her father in securing his gold that was under a marked plank in what was his house, but has now been taken from him and given to nuns. So Abigail offers herself as a nun; and the idiotic abbess settles the whole business with the self-accusing Jewess, on the spot: "Well, daughter, we admit you for a nun." She went off, when she got her father's money. But he compassed the killing of the lover of this his fourteen year old child—Juliet's age—and so she goes back, in an instant, a real Christian convert, upbraiding her

“Hardhearted father, unkind Barabas”,
and perceiving

“there is no love on earth,
Pity in Jews, nor piety in Turks,
I was chain'd to follies of the world;
But now experience purchased with grief,
Hath made me see the difference of things.”

She and all the nuns are then given poisoned powder by indignant Barabas.

"Do you not sorrow for your daughter's death?" asks his Turk servant.

And Abigail's father:

“No, but I grieve, because she liv’d so long
An Hebrew born, and would become a Christian.”

Then he prepares an even less serious mock-conversation for himself, because he fears that his poisoning of nuns has been discovered; through a friar's indirect, if not direct, revealing of Abigail's confession.

"She has confest, and we are both undone!
 (*I must dissemble*).
 Oh holy friar, the burthen of my sins
 Lie heavy on my soul; then pray you tell me,
 Is't not too late now to turn Christian?
 I have been zealous in the Jewish faith,
 Hardhearted to the poor, a covetous wretch,
 That would for lucre's sake have sold my soul."

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Two friars bid for the convertite, each hoping to bring Barabas' money to his particular religious order. They come to blows. But now Barabas strangles one, who had lain down to sleep:

Barabas "Friar, awake.

Friar "What, do you mean to strangle me?"

The Turkish servant answers—it is a sort of clown and harlequin performance—

"Yes, 'cause you use to confess.

Barabas Blame not us, but the proverb, confess and be hang'd; pull hard!"

So much for one friar. They prop him up near the door, the practical jokers, so that the rival friar may see him, hit him, and knock him down, and seem to be the murderer. Which all comes to pass. The second friar, who might inform as to the nun-poisoning, is now hanged.

All which suggests reflections on the barbarousness in Elizabethan drama, and of the contrast to Shakespeare, and indeed Jonson. Reflections also on Shakespeare's religious feeling, if not practice.

Is Ithamore's description of his death an echo of Marlowe-like surprise at the death of the priests then being executed, under Elizabeth—for the friar of the play had no readiness to cut himself from the sinful world—

"I never knew a man take death so patiently as this friar; he was ready to leap off ere the halter was about his neck; and, when the hangman had put on his hempen tippet, he made such haste to his prayers, as if he had had another cure to serve?"

This Ithamore levies blackmail on Barabas, as an accessory to Barabas' poisoning affair. Barabas' own body is cast out for dead, after he had killed Ithamore and others by giving a poisoned flower to smell. But the Jew revives and betrays a secret way into the town, to the Turkish enemy. But when the Turks have conquered, he arranges to blow them all up, at a feast which he induces the Christian governor to give.

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Half the Turks are destroyed; but the governor hoists Barabas with his own petard, and saves the Turkish leader, while Barabas sinks down into the caldron prepared by him for others:

"Die, life! fly, soul! tongue, curse thy fill, and die!"

And his astonished if wearied onlookers have supped full with horror, without being much horriified. Blood is as common here, to quote Charles Lamb again, as money in a comedy; and, so, is nothing accounted of in the life and death of Barabas.

It is another world of soullessness from Shylock's prayer for leave to go hence, to stumble out, in his pitiful blindness. And yet, it must be allowed, that the *Merchant of Venice*, as Shakespeare wrote it, is not the tragedy of Shylock. There is the fifth act; and the rich, and the cultured are rejoicing, not dishonourably, with youth and pleasure happy under love. And Shylock's daughter is there. The Jew's greatest sympathizers will talk of the fat and greasy citizens looking not for that lean and broken bankrupt.

But, one must repeat, such Shylock sympathizers and nothing more, are reading another play than Shakespeare's, with its beginning, indeed, in the bustling streets of Venice, and the chances of Shylock's plot succeeding in that stripe of nation and class, but closing in quiet content after his already forgotten defeat, "far away from the great city, in a garden faintly lighted by the moon, as she pales before the coming morning." And the victors feel, and are meant not wrongly to feel, that all is well, that they are in a happy world through which an evil shadow has passed but left no trace, and is by them remembered not.

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Woodside, Tivoli, Cork.

A CITIZEN ARMY.

A GERMAN living in Kingston on August 4th, 1914, hurriedly crossed the American border to avoid internment. It was suspected that he had been furnishing regular and tabulated information to the German Government of the defence strength of Canada as it existed around the military centre of Kingston. Conversations with this man before the war lead one now to believe that his minute and interested knowledge of the personnel and other features of the forces was acquired for this very purpose. If this system of espionage was world wide, both in Britain and in all British dominions for the purpose of informing Junkerdom, the almost utter inability of the Empire to defend itself on land and of Canada to give quick and effective assistance, may have had something to do with the commencing of war in August, 1914. The amazing thing is that we were able to get up our full strength in time. Our navy saved us.

It is July and I am dictating this to be published, if the editor so decides, in October when the war may be over; and at the present time it is difficult to get the country or its public men to become interested in what seems to be only a future necessity and a theoretical system, as compared with the stern realities of the actual furnishing of troops and making of munitions, with which to cope to the death with our efficient foe.

But the important question of Canada's defence in the future cannot be long delayed, and it is for the purpose of obtaining the thought of men who have passed through the Universities that I take up the subject here.

It is important to keep in mind the vast change in training required by modern warfare. It would be inhuman to send insufficiently trained men to the front line with war conducted as scientifically as in 1917-18. It is only too true that some of our Canadian soldiers were sent up to the front in 1915-16 without enough training, and they perished. The perfection of transportation in war must also change our views

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as to the numbers required. Hundreds of thousands of men can be moved overnight, and upon quick movement victory depends, or the battle is lost. No country could get a numerous force under the voluntary system, and such countries will, in the future, be at a great disadvantage. The volunteer system is obsolete.

Before 1917 and since 1855, Canada's military service was entirely a voluntary one. The active Militia was said to consist of 46,550* men, of whom not more than 6,000 could be considered as even fairly well trained for a campaign of modern warfare; 20,000 or one-third of the whole who attended training camps or parade grounds were more or less ardent military men. The remainder were attracted by the pay given and the opportunity of obtaining an enjoyable twelve days with their fellows as a holiday. In other words, Canada took its defence amiably, and with little of the spirit that makes for a respected force.

Our ideas have undergone a change. While we were considering the possibility of war as remote, and while we trifled with battalions and batteries because we liked the swagger of it, or because we wished to take a man's part during a portion of our career, all was well, and we submitted to the inglorious yearly round of scurrying for enough men to make a respectable showing at a commanding officer's or pay parade. But when after the war, and peril was imminent, we were let in for the odious task of cajoling or threatening men into joining the overseas forces, when we attempted to pose as persons of superior loyalty and patriotism and addressed meetings of our less fortunate fellow-citizens, and told them how little soul or heart or spirit they possessed, it was then that many military officers concluded once and for all that the voluntary system was a mistake and that something must be substituted for it if Canada were to maintain her place among free, democratic and powerful countries. The introduction of voluntarism in the Militia Act of 1855 was a weakness and a mistake. We should have followed Nova Scotia who trained all her men and in 1865 had 58,767 on her nominal roll.

*Sir Ian Hamilton's Report, 1913.

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My plea is that all youths and men up to 25 years should submit to an obligatory annual training, and to get rid of the optional element which is the basis of our present system, that a Universal Service Act should be passed as soon as may be. Such a measure is too drastic and far-reaching to be approved with unanimity. No one will expect it to be got without a fight. I have not passed through the world with my eyes and ears shut and as not to know there are even yet a number in any community who do not like uniforms. I know of intelligent men who speak with exasperation of any military development or exhibition. I do not call these men by the name pacifist, because obviously that word is now deemed to be one of insult. The necessity for carrying on the war with vigor, in order to avert slavery, is so plain that the man who heretofore rather exulted in being a pacifist, now hastens to deny any such impeachment, and declares how much he has given to war loans or how many of his relatives are in or behind the lines. The very fact that a change has come over pacifists shows that a change has come over the thought of the people. Is this not, therefore, an opportune time to discuss the question of future defence? If disgusted and wearied with war effort we say that the clash has been so great that there will never be war again and that we will never see men in uniform from this out, we state something unconvincing. The candid statements of Gen. Freytag-Loringhoven, Deputy Chief of the General Staff, in his nearly suppressed work, 'Deductions from the World War,' is evidence that the German militarist, whose mind apparently never ceases from plotting and intriguing, is now thinking of nothing but success in future years, when the mistakes of the present war may be remedied, and more complete preparations may be made.

"War is based in human nature, and as long as human nature remains unaltered, war will continue to exist as it has existed already for thousands of years. The idea of an universal league for the preservation of peace remains an Utopia, and would be felt as an intolerable tutelage by any great and true-spirited nation."

He believes in war for its own sake and boldly proclaims his opposition to the democratic influence which would under-

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mine the political and social system upon which Germany's military system rests. And Naumann says it is not to be supposed that at the conclusion of the war the long jubilee of an everlasting peace will reign ("Central Europe", p. 7). Even a growing inclination among the people towards peace can do little to alter this steady preparation for coming war (p. 179).

The press of the Centrals has been besprinkled for months past, and especially after the successful onrush of German forces this spring again to the Marne, with references to the next war, and discussing means by which, in the peace negotiations, the allied nations should be prevented from becoming stronger so that the defeats of the present war may be remedied. The German war lord is a patient and not easily discouraged person, and it seems essential that the civilized nations must maintain a strong defence until the aims of the Teutonic people are declared with safe clearness. The devout prayer of the pacifist that this war shall destroy all war is not within sight of being answered.

I have as yet, indeed, heard nothing in the way of argument or statement which changes my mind on this great question. Why should we not have universal service in the same way that we have universal obedience to municipal by-laws and universal obligation to pay local rates? It would be very agreeable to the ratepayer who voted against the Mayor at the last election to refuse to pay his tax bill, by way of delivering a moral lesson to that functionary, and (in Ontario) he must drive and pass to the right, although he may have admirable arguments that driving to the left is more safe and convenient.

There would be nothing new in anything I might say as to the advantages to youths of training and acquaintance with discipline. When one speaks of discipline he again arouses the ill-temper of the individualist who says that his son is not, if he can help it, going to be made to obey or salute another man's son. This class of person, on account of unfamiliarity with military duties, does not understand what discipline means. Discipline is the obtaining of that state of mind which makes a man willing to submit his general con-

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duct for the time being to those whom he assents to having the right to impose their will; and all for the purpose of attaining convenience and a desired object beneficial to all. The faithful performance of duty is the joint product of patriotism and self-respect. There is little discipline of mind in Canada, and the consequence is that our manners would stand improvement in many instances. It is more than doubtful if we are happier because of its scarcity. Discipline produces respect for elders and for women, self-respect tempered with considerateness. If these desirable qualities can be obtained by universal military service, then we cannot too soon commence going about the obtaining of a change.

One speaks with some respect of those men whose environment and habits of mind have produced a prejudice against discipline, order, mutual action and unity of effort. But the trouble with such citizens is that they are useless to the state in time of peril. These clog their protest against compulsory training with a tyranny of words such as "slavish", "unenglish", "militarism", "coercion", forgetting that the allied nations are not the creatures of kings and aristocracies, but are democracies and must pay for their democracy by providing strength to enforce its principles.

Once this war and its peril fades away, it is probably inevitable that those who do not like soldiers or discipline will take up opposition to any form of compulsory training. Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P., does not like universal training, because he thinks it may hurt the power of Labour to strike. Yet he reveals his own mind and probably the opinion of a vast majority of the British people when he says:

"The country has been grievously misled by a kind of pious pacifism which lulled it into a false sense of security, which refused to face the truth, which allowed it to drift into war, whilst it was preaching peace, and which when war broke out chirped about this being the last of the wars and linked its aims in those of war, as the saviour of society and the herald of peace. The character of our present alliance is lucky for us, but it would indeed be a foolish nation that would trust everything to chance because it was once favoured by good fortune." *

*National Defence and Speeches on Militarism, 1917, p. 53.

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Mr. Ramsay Macdonald recognizes the risk run, of humiliation and serfdom, by being unprepared against a scientific enemy. In other words, Germany's intensive militarism has forced a new view upon the other countries and has pointed out the peril which an untrained mass is in against a foe that can strike with strength and celerity.

General Gwatkin, our Chief-of-Staff (Toronto, 1910), puts it this way:

"Because we wish for peace, we are tempted to think that war is impossible. Other countries covet the boundless though still latent wealth of Canada, and view with jealous eyes our increasing prosperity. Are we to be stigmatized as militarists because we seek to develop her armed strength that she can say to potential enemies, not defiantly but confidently, 'hands off.' . . . 'When a strong man armed keeps his palace, his goods are in peace, but when a stronger than he shall come upon and overcome him, he taketh from him all his armour wherein he trusted and divideth his spoils.'"

Solon said well to Croesus, when in ostentation he showed him his gold,—“Sir, if any other came that had better iron than you, he will be master of all that gold.”

The great question of our defence is not one to be settled by individual prejudice or on political theory. It is one of military necessity, forced upon us by the attitude of the world and the lessons of the Great War. We have a negligible minority of militarists who would have us armed and a negligible minority who would have us a non-resistant state, but who offer us no theory as to how we may continue to exist as such. Between these extremes lies the vast majority; the sober and sensible people of our country, who insist that we must have some defence, and who will be only concerned to find out whether we can best procure it by adhering to our present system of volunteering, or the fairer and more equitable and patriotic system of universal national service.

The question of physique and its lapse in Canada has concerned leaders of thought. It appears that the young men of the First Class, recently called, were deficient to the extent of 65%—that is to say, more than one-half were unfit for the rigors of modern service. Conditions in factories, child labour, watching games from the bleachers instead of playing,

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frequenting pool rooms and moving picture shows, may account for this loss of manhood; but something must be done to counteract it—why not universal training?

“The ancient Greeks insisted that the soldiers’ training is a large factor in virtue, but they dwelt upon the poor physique and the impaired health, the physical and moral decadence of industrialism, and of the mechanic’s life, unless it is safeguarded by other things. The Greeks wanted men of Spartan training and Spartan simplicity and Spartan hardihood. The ancient Greece had its industrial slavery and its industrial “sweating”, and large bodies of men condemned to labour in factories in a round of very narrow and very mechanical drudgery; and seeing all this, the ancient world deplored this loss of physique, arising from industrialism, and recognized the better physique of the small military states of Sparta and Thebes.” †

We may safely reply upon the report of a Committee of such men as, Dr. Burwash, Victoria; Dr. Gordon, Queen’s; Dr. McKay, Superintendent of Education, Nova Scotia; Dr. Cody, Toronto; Dr. J. W. MacMillan, Halifax (now Winnipeg); Colonel G. Dauth, Laval; Rabbi Jacobs, Toronto; Principal Hutton, Toronto; James L. Hughes, Toronto, and others, which referring to the training of coming citizens, stated:

“Genuine patriotism is developed by it, not in an arrogant or offensive consciousness of national importance, but a faith in himself and his country that is one of the basic elements of a strong and balanced moral character. Drill defines in a boy’s mind the need of active co-operation with his fellows, and gives him a greater consciousness of his own individuality.”

We cannot come to a decision as to what is to be done about universal service without considering the action of the other dominions of the Empire, and the commonwealth and sovereign states to the south of us, the intelligence and national spirit of all of which countries are rated high. The Commonwealth of Australia and the Dominion of New Zealand in 1910 passed universal service laws and in 1912 were followed by the Union of South Africa. As regards the effect in New Zealand we have the testimony of Mr. Massey, Premier, at Toronto, in May, 1917:

†Principal Maurice Hutton.

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"When the State is fighting for its existence, the State is entitled to the service of every one of its citizens, and I do not believe it can be better provided for than by universal compulsory military training. In New Zealand it has proved a splendid success, and it has made it possible to have the whole manhood of the country (it exempts none) qualify to take up arms in the defence of the Empire. Even if war were abolished, compulsory military training for all men in the Empire would be an enormous physical benefit to the British race."

The New Zealand Defence Bill was carried by 65 to 4 votes, and a New Zealand newspaper said:

"It is seldom that a principle so novel and so drastic can command so overwhelming a majority, but we believe that the proportion of 20 to 1 represents pretty accurately the feeling of the country."

In the United States there was transmitted February, 1917, to the Senate, the report of General H. L. Scott, Chief-of-Staff, which

"Recommended that the present antiquated military system of the United States be abandoned, and that in its place a modern, scientific organization along the following lines be established; (a) Universal liability to military service in war; (b) Universal liability to military training in time of peace."

The subject is still before the United States Congress and is said to be likely to pass upon reasoning based on Clausewitz that

"Superiority in numbers is the most general principle of victory and the greatest possible number of troops should be brought into the action at the decisive point."

In the State of New York there was passed May 6th, 1918, after long and deliberate debate, a law which makes it compulsory for boys over 16 and under 19 to be given training for 41 weeks in schools and colleges. Boys who have not certificates of attendance in training cannot remain at the school, nor can they be employed by any person or corporation within the State (Sec. 27).

State military camps for field training are to be established during the summer months for not less than two months or more than four months (Sec. 28).

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This writing would not be complete without referring to the result of universal military service in Switzerland. This proud and self-respecting republic was able, in the greatest war in history, to maintain its independence, and to avoid the bloody fangs of its northern neighbour, simply and solely because that neighbour was afraid to overrun a country where every man was trained in defence. In August 1914, there was mobilized in two days 500,000 Swiss of all arms with guns, trains, and other establishments. This was done quietly, efficiently, without nervousness, although there was no standing army, no barracks, and no regular troops, the permanent force being a mere corps of instructors numbering less than 300. Note the difference between Canada and Switzerland in our frantic efforts to get men and our not succeeding in getting so large a force although with three times the population. The Swiss soldier takes pleasure and interest in his yearly training. He does not want large pay, getting little more than enough for comforts, tobacco, etc. The soldier gets 16c., out of which is kept back 2c. towards a company fund to which the Government gives 5c. If compulsory service comes in Canada, it is to be hoped that similar principles will be adopted. It would be fair, however, in addition to compelling the employer to free his men, to make him also pay their wages while on training, as the price of the security a national army would afford him.

Another fact of vast importance to Canada is that its powerful neighbour has definitely and conclusively made up its mind that its mission in the world requires it to become and to remain a nation of military power. It took the United States over a year to prepare for war, and such a risk will never be taken again. We are too proud a people to give our neighbour any concern that she may be called upon to afford protective efforts, and our pride also will be sufficient to train our manhood that Canada may be regarded not only by the United States, but by all countries, as no mean ally.

Let us then accustom our minds to a new system. Let all men, physically fit, be trained for at least six weeks per year until 25, and then go upon a reserve available for defence. Let people look upon defence as an essential part of their life

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duty, as great as paying their taxes, extinguishing fires, and obeying their laws.

The most informing and inclusive work on this subject in Canada is that of Col. W. Hamilton Merritt, a precursor in the struggle for adequate and businesslike defence: "Canada and National Defence," and in England, Mr. G. G. Coulton's "The Case for Compulsory Military Service." Both books by The MacMillan Company, 1917.

H. M. MOWAT.

INDIAN REFORM.

THE Montagu-Chelmsford report on Indian Constitutional Reforms promises to prove the most important state paper of its kind since Lord Durham's famous recommendations on the government of Canada, but even in England, where a decision in the matter must sooner or later be made, the discussion has not been very full or well informed. The reviewers and the writers of letters to the *Times* have said their say, but the man in the train never mentions it, or, if he does, repeats confusedly the view of whatever newspaper he happens to take. The whole discussion has been carried on not so much by individuals as by spokesmen of societies and associations which stand committed to a certain policy.

The unfortunate truth is that the general public know very little about India, and even if there were not other very vital matters to occupy their attention they would not regard this one with any very great personal concern. And this is a pity because, apart altogether from India's economic value to the Empire, the handling of this very difficult problem, of how to treat an ancient but not very politically competent people (or "peoples" if you like, but that question is not for the moment at issue) fairly and wisely, how to show generosity without weakness, firmness without repression, and wisdom without cunning, this is going to test not only British statesmanship, but the very soul of the British nation.

"Self-determination" is the catchword of the hour and it is very easy to win a cheap popularity among the "intellectuals" by applying it mechanically to all and sundry cases. On the other hand, British conservatism is still strong and it is easy to get support for the maintenance of the old British supremacy which has admittedly served India well in the past and is not likely to be a demonstrably bad thing in the immediate future.

But it is not England's business to satisfy either the ideologues of the hour or the advocates of *real-politik*. She has got to think of the practical good of the coming generations of Indians and of Anglo-Indians. The present system

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might be maintained for a generation, but the suppressed force of the peoples of India would be gathering to a head and an explosion would inevitably result which, though it might not do irreparable damage, would make England's task far more difficult. Education is spreading, modern ideas are being adapted to the circumstances of India, and the benevolent autocracy of the past will soon not only be regarded as malevolent, but will positively be so.

Lord Morley (as Secretary of State) and Lord Minto (as Viceroy) and their advisers realized this, and sought to provide India with a safety-valve. A small number of elected members was admitted to the Legislative councils by the Councils Act of 1892, but the electorate was a very narrow one. The Morley-Minto reforms allowed of a non-official majority in the provincial legislatures, and only a very small official majority in the Governor-General's council. Also, the councils were allowed, for the first time, to discuss and move resolutions regarding the budget and private members might move resolutions on all matters of public interest. Moreover, one seat on every council was in practice reserved for Indian members.

But in spite of all this the British authorities kept a firm hold on all legislation and administration. The government could not be ejected by any number of council resolutions and, apart from the Governor-General's veto, no bill not backed by government had any chance of becoming law. The Indian member of council is a government nominee and cannot of course do much in the face of the opposition of his British colleagues.

Now the government that this system and its predecessors gave India was good, there need be no hesitation in claiming that; but it is not desirable that "one good custom should corrupt the world" and the future undoubtedly rests with representative government. It is our duty to enable the peoples of India to qualify themselves to take their share in the administration of their country, for it is impossible to admit that they are inherently incapable of doing so.

It is necessary then to give the people of India not merely a voice, but a means of giving effect to their own political

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ideas, and the only way to educate a people to think surely and wisely in political matters is to make them responsible for the failure or success of their own schemes. It is our business to help them and, of our charity, to save them as far as possible from the effects of their inevitable mistakes; but you cannot learn to swim without going into the water, and it is not wise to wait, till all other nations have progressed further, and the tempers of their own "intellectuals" are hopelessly spoiled by a generation of irresponsible agitation, before beginning the instruction.

The Montagu-Chelmsford report therefore proposes that responsible Indian ministers shall be at once appointed and the electoral element in the councils, which are to be entirely recast, made preponderant. The whole scheme is elaborate and cannot be made clear in very brief space. An official summary is to be had for 9d. and reference should be made to this or to the 8-page summary at the end of the full report. The provincial governments are to be allowed a freer hand, but the final control of all matters remains in the hands of the Government of India, and the Governor-General retains his veto and his power of making Ordinances, so that in the last resort nothing can be legally done without the sanction of the British Raj. It is even secured that Government bills can, in emergency and by the use of special machinery, be passed in the teeth of the Legislative Assembly by the vote of the Council (or Upper Chamber), wherein the Governor-General is to control a majority, alone. Moreover, certain subjects are at present to be "reserved" for official handling, and the whole scheme is to be reviewed every ten years and the list of reserved subjects revised.

The proposed constitution is being criticized in two senses.

First, the extreme nationalists wish to have immediate control of the whole of the affairs of India, abolishing "reserved" subjects and the supreme powers of the Governor-General. These extremists appear, however, to be losing ground and almost certainly the proposed scheme would receive a fair trial so far as the Indian public is concerned.

Secondly, there is an important and not by any means

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only ultra-Tory party in England and among the Anglo-Indians, who fear that any representative system now will throw undue power into the hands of a small section of the people, notably of the Brahmin caste, who will exploit the "silent masses" for their own benefit. You must first, they argue, educate these masses so that they can qualify as electors and be not wholly at the mercy of their inveterate oppressors.

Now it is perfectly true that the vast majority of the natives of India are not well educated and not versed in up-to-date political methods, but the Indian villager has as much experience as the English villager had a hundred years ago, and, though it is true that he runs a risk of being exploited by the middle classes, this would seem to be inevitable at whatever date his first step in political life is taken, and the best incentive that can be given to him to improve his culture is the certainty of getting some share in the control of his own destinies. The British will still be at hand to safeguard his interests if, to put it baldly, he is going to make a fool of himself—it is surely better he should do so now than a generation or two hence when the classes above him will be still further removed from his level, and still more powerful and more experienced. A constitution that is acceptable to the mass of the educated Indians now will not necessarily satisfy them hereafter, and a smaller measure of Home Rule will hardly allow the training that is required or attract into political life the ablest and best elements in India. As the Montagu-Chelmsford report acutely points out, the arena of mere municipal politics will never appeal to the aristocracy of the country.

Criticism of points of detail is, of course, eminently desirable, but that is in the main the business of experts in parliamentary and administrative matters. The question for the British peoples to decide is whether the present or the future is to count most. Whether India is to be arbitrarily judged unfit for the democratic government which is being promised to all the world, or whether the utmost is to be done to make her a self-governing member of the British commonwealth at the earliest possible date.

K. N. COLVILLE.

CANADIAN FEDERAL FINANCE—II.

1. *The Task Before Us.*

IN the current fiscal year the Dominion government is faced with the task of raising for our civil budget, for our direct war expenditure, and for loans to our ally, Great Britain, over \$980,000,000. In a world that talks in billions, this may not seem a great amount. Compared with the \$24,000,000,000 to be voted by the United States or the \$14,000,000,000 of the British budget, it seems little. Compared with the greatness and the urgency of the cause for which we fight, it is as dust in the balance. But compared with peace-time budgets, and with peace-time resources, as we judged them, it is colossal. It means that in a single year we must raise a sum greater than the total expenditure of the Dominion, on current or consolidated fund account, during the whole generation from 1867 to 1900. It means that we must raise in a year practically the amount that the federal government of that populous, wealthy and certainly not over-economical country, the United States, was spending before the war. It means that this task is to be faced by a country which even before the war had been spending lavishly and taxing heavily: with one-fourteenth the population of the United States, we were spending on federal purposes one-sixth as much, while the total tax-bill of the average Canadian was, contrary to current opinion, clearly heavier than that of the average British tax-payer.¹

The task before us, then, is so great as to warrant the close and constant attention not merely of the responsible authorities, the powers that be at Ottawa, but of every citizen in the Dominion. In a previous article, published two years ago,² an attempt was made to contribute to the discussion of the question by a summary of the facts as to federal revenue and expenditure, and a review of the possible sources of revenue, leading to an advocacy of a federal income tax. That

¹*Federal Finance*, I p. 3.

²*Federal Finance*, I, in *Queen's Quarterly*, July, 1915, and printed as *Bulletin* No. 16 of the Departments of History and of Political and Economic Science, Queen's University.

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essential reform, then scouted in official quarters, has now become an important and doubtless a permanent feature of our fiscal system. Other issues have risen, and some of the old issues are still before us. In the present article, the purpose is to summarize the facts as to our war finance, to comment briefly on the methods followed, and to consider, still more briefly, how the burdens of the future may be met.

2. War-Time Income and Outlay.

The total expenditure of the Dominion for war purposes, including outlays in France and England as well as in Canada, but not including advances to Allies, up to March 31, 1918—the end of the fiscal year 1917-18—was \$879,000,000. The total up to August 1, 1918, that is, for four complete years of war, will be practically a billion dollars. The exact official figures follow:

Canadian War Expenditure, 1914-18.

Fiscal year 1914-15 (eight months of war	\$ 60,750,476 01
“ 1915-16	166,197,755 47
“ 1916-17	306,488,874 63
“ 1917-18 (returns not yet complete).....	343,834,688 85
	\$877,271,794 96
“ 1918-19, to Aug. 1, 1918 (returns not yet complete)	113,720,046 60
	Total for four years of war.....\$990,991,841 56

In the four fiscal years 1914-15 to 1917-18, the total expenditure of the Dominion for civil purposes was approximately three-quarters of a billion. This covers both the expenditure on current or consolidated fund account, and the capital expenditure, including construction of railways and other public works, along with railway subsidies, loan discount and minor charges. A detailed table follows:

	Consolidated Fund	Capital and Other	Total
Fiscal year 1914-15 ..	\$135,523,206 54	\$ 51,824,843 78	\$187,348,050 32
“ 1915-16 ..	130,350,726 90	43,154,020 12	173,504,747 02
“ 1916-17 ..	148,599,343 23	43,114,960 42	191,714,303 65
“ 1917-18, approx.	176,923,645 61	57,799,611 75	234,723,257 36
	\$591,396,922 28	\$195,893,436 07	\$787,290,358 35

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The total expenditure in the four fiscal years 1914 to 1918 is therefore as follows:

Fiscal years 1914-18, War Expenditure	\$ 877,271,794 96
“ “ Consolidated Fund	591,396,922 28
“ “ Capital and Other	195,893,436 07.
	\$1,664,562,153 31

During the same period the consolidated fund revenue, that is, receipts from other sources than loans, and including taxes and income from lands and public utilities, was about \$800,000,000, or slightly less than half the total expenditure. In the tables below the excess of expenditures over receipts is shown for each year:—

SUMMARY OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURES, 1914-1918.

Fiscal Year 1914-1915.

Consol. Fd. Receipts 133,073,481 73	Consol. Fd. Expend. 135,523,206 54
Sinking Fund . . . 1,645,811 53	Capital & other Exp. 51,824,843 78
Net addition to Debt 113,379,233 07	(incl. subsidies & loan discounts).
	War Expenditure .. 60,750,476 01
\$248,098,526 33	\$248,098,526 33

Fiscal Year 1915-16.

Consol. Fd. Receipts 172,147,838 27	Consol. Fd. Expend. 130,350,726 90
Other Receipts .. 1,555 30	Capital & other Exp. 43,154,020 12
Sinking Fund . . . 1,773,021 11	War Expenditure . 166,197,755 47
Net addition to Debt 165,780,087 81	
\$339,702,502 49	\$339,702,502 49

Fiscal Year 1916-17.

Consol. Fd. Receipts 232,701,294 00	Consol. Fd. Expend. 148,599,343 23
Sinking Fund . . . 1,471,697 50	Capital & other Exp. 43,114,960 42
Net addition to Debt 264,030,126 78	War Expenditure . 306,488,814 63
\$498,203,118 28	\$498,203,118 28

Fiscal Year 1917-18 (approx.)

Consol. Fd. Receipts 260,566,379 83	Consol. Fd. Expend. 176,923,645 61
Sinking Fund . . . 3,183,492 66	Capital & other Exp. 57,799,611 75
Net addition to Debt 314,808,073 72	War Expenditure . 343,834,688 85
\$578,557,946 21	\$578,557,946 21

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TOTAL INCREASE OF DEBT.

Net Public Debt, March 31, 1914	\$ 335,996,850	14
Increase, Fiscal year 1914-15	\$113,379,233	07
“ “ 1915-16	165,780,087	81
“ “ 1916-17	264,030,126	78
“ “ 1917-18	314,808,073	72
	\$ 857,997,521	38

Net Debt, March 31, 1918, approximate\$1,193,994,371 52

It will be noted that in the first year, 1914-15, the revenue, so far from providing a surplus to be applied on war expenditure, did not even cover the civil budget, and that a sum nearly double the amount spent on the war was added to the national debt. In the second year, civil receipts and expenditures balanced, leaving the whole war outlay to be met by borrowing. In the third and fourth years, there were substantial surpluses over all civil expenditure, making it possible to apply \$41,000,000 in one year and \$26,000,000 in the other, to the principal of the war outlay. Taking the four years together, there was a surplus of revenue over all civil expenditure of only \$12,000,000. In other words, of the total principal of the war outlay to April 1, 1918, \$877,000,000, only \$27,000,000, or less than two per cent. has been met out of current revenues. In the past year a better showing was made, the surplus available for application on war outlay being \$26,000,000, or 8 per cent. In 1918-19, it is estimated that the surplus will be \$40,000,000, or 9 per cent. of the war outlay. It must be borne in mind that a heavy and rapidly increasing burden of war interest and pensions, about \$70,000,000 in all, was met out of current revenue in this period. On the other hand, the civil budget has been relieved of the greater part of ordinary military and naval expenditure, running about \$15,000,000 a year in peace-time.

It may be suggested that all revenues in excess of consolidated fund expenditure should be considered as a surplus applicable on the principal of the war outlay, and that we should consider that a portion of our increased debt has really been incurred for capital and other expenditure not ordinarily to be met out of current income. There is, of course, a case for the contention that capital, non-recurring expenditure should be

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met by loans, not from current revenue. When the capital outlays recur year after year, however, this contention loses force. In any case, the practical point is that in normal pre-war years only a part, or none at all of the capital expenditure required to be met by loans. Ordinary revenue of late years had covered both current and capital outlays, including the cost of railway construction and subsidies. The debt in 1914 was less than in 1910 and only \$100,000,000 more than it was a quarter century before, or an average shortage of only \$4,000,000 a year. This fact indicates the basis to be taken in comparison of war with pre-war finance.

War Time Loans.

The funds to meet these larger outlays have come from loans and from taxes—the revenues from public works merely offsetting at best the current expenditure in these services.

The loans have taken the following forms:

1. *Temporary advances* from Canadian banks, usually through the sale of Treasury Bills, repaid out of public loans.

2. *Debenture Stock* issued in sums of \$500 and multiples thereof bearing 5 per cent. interest, and maturing in October, 1919, holders having the privilege of surrendering at par in payment on war loan issue.

3. *Public Loans* in Great Britain, the United States, and Canada. A brief summary follows:

(a) *Loans floated in United Kingdom:*

March, 1915, 4½% at 99½, 5-10 years\$ 23,332,500

(b) *Loans floated in the United States:*

August, 1915, 5%, one year notes at 100, two year
notes at 99½, less commission 45,000,000

March, 1916, 5%, 5-10-15 years at 99.56, 99.12,
and 94.94 75,000,000

August, 1917, 5% two year notes at 98..... 100,000,000

Summer, 1918, loan made in New York..... 65,000,000

(c) *Loans floated in Canada:*

November, 1915, 5%, 10 years, at 97½ (24,862
subscribers) 100,000,000

September, 1916, 5%, 15 years, at 97½ (34,526
subscribers) 100,000,000

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<i>March</i> , 1917, 5%, 20 years, at 96 (41,263 subscribers)	150,000,000
<i>November</i> , 1917, 5½%, 5-10-20 years at 100 (802,000 subscribers)	400,000,000

4. *Advances from British government.* Canada is bearing the full cost of maintaining her forces in the field. To cover the expenditures made directly by the Canadian government in Great Britain and France, Canada has borrowed on open account from the British government. Further, to meet the cost of supplies and munitions served to our troops in the field from British sources, Canada has agreed to pay to the British government the sum of 6s. 3d. (now raised to 9s. 4d.) per man per day. On the other hand, the Canadian government advances to the British government a large part of the funds required for its purchases of munitions and other supplies in Canada—the balance coming from loans from the Canadian Banks on Treasury Bills, and from the United States government. In addition, Canada in 1916 paid some \$107,000,000 on account by delivering to British government dollar bonds for that sum, to be used as collateral for a loan in New York. For the first two years the balance in this open account was against Canada; since then it has been in our favour. On March 31, 1918, the Canadian government had lent Great Britain \$100,000,000 more than it had borrowed; by August 1, 1918, the net indebtedness of Britain to Canada was \$140,000,000.

5. *War Savings Certificates.* Since Jan. 1917, certificates of \$20, \$50 and \$100, repayable in three years from date of issue, and sold at \$21.50, \$43.00 and \$86.00 respectively, have been offered for sale in Canada. Later \$10 certificates were placed on sale. By March 31, 1918, some \$12,500,000 had been sold.

6. *Note Issue.* In the early months of the war the government secured a forced loan without interest, by the issue of inconvertible paper. The Finance Act, 1914, increased the limit of Dominion note issue, below which only a 25 per cent. gold backing is required, from \$30,000,000,000 to \$50,000,000, thus giving \$15,000,000 free. By order-in-council, in these same first months of the war, confirmed later by legislation, an issue of \$16,000,000 in Dominion notes was made to the Cana-

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dian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific against pledged securities. No recourse has since been made to this facile but dangerous method of financing.

War Time Taxes.

Turning next to taxes, we find customs and excise still holding their predominant place in Canadian finance. A heavy decrease in customs duties in 1914-15—which had set in before the war and was due as much to business depression as to war disturbance—was offset later by reviving trade and increased duties. Excise duties, mainly on liquors and tobacco, kept up well, in spite of the advance of prohibition, until the close of the year 1917-18. A relatively small sum has been obtained from the war taxes introduced in April, 1915, one-third of it from direct taxes on banks, fire insurance and trust and loan companies, and the remainder from indirect stamp or consumption taxes on railway tickets, telegraph messages, cheques, money orders, patent medicines, etc. The Business Profits Tax has yielded a revenue for only two years. The Income Tax has not yet been levied. A summary in round numbers follows:

	Customs	Excise	Business Profits	Other War Taxes
1914-15	76,000,000	21,000,000		100,000
1915-16	98,000,000	23,000,000		3,600,000
1916-17	134,000,000	24,000,000	12,500,000	3,800,000
1917-18	146,000,000	27,000,000	21,000,000	4,000,000
Total:	\$454,000,000	\$95,000,000	\$33,500,000	\$11,500,000

The direct taxes thus amounted to \$33,500,000+\$4,000,000, or not quite 6 per cent., and the indirect or consumption to \$590,000,000, or 94 per cent. of the whole.

3. *Distributing the Burden.*

After this rapid outline of the more essential facts as to our war finance, a brief summary of the principles which experience has shown should govern will be in order. Doubtless many of the points noted below will appear obvious and elementary, but experience shows how easily the obvious is overlooked.

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The first and fundamental principle to keep in mind is that it is goods and services, not money, that are the prime requisite in waging a great war. It is not a question of how to get a billion dollars in money, but how to get a billion dollars' worth of goods and services where they will be most effective in winning the war. The financial task, important though it is, is only secondary to the task of organizing the nation's resources.

A second fact, more often overlooked, is that these goods and services must come out of the present, not out of stores inherited from the past, nor out of the activity of generations yet to come. The past can help us little in a war of such magnitude as this. The world lives from hand to mouth. Men have been working on this old earth for tens of thousands of years, and yet experts tell us that if production suddenly ceased the world's stocks would last little more than a year. Even our capital equipment is only the equivalent of a few years' total effort. Nor can the future provide the goods and services needed now. The guns, the shells, the blankets, the wheat, produced in 1929 will not help win the battles of 1919. Every bit of human effort, every yard of khaki, every pound of steel that is to count must come out of current production.

Putting the Load on Posterity.

Can we not, then, throw any of the burden of the war upon posterity? Little of our burden. Posterity will have a burden of its own. It will suffer by the loss of millions of the most energetic and promising of the world's workers, by the rapid waste of resources, by the destruction of town and field, and by the cessation during the war of the usual addition to or upkeep of civil capital equipment. It may suffer still further if the outcome of the war is military deadlock, rampant and exclusive nationalism, a Prussianizing of the policy of all states which will mortgage men's labor for long years to come in renewed wars and preparation for wars. It may gain if the outcome of the war is the triumph of real democracy and the achievement of a sane international organization and of co-operation in trade. But whether the net result is that the world in future is worse off or better, however much our

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policy and efforts today may influence its fate, very little that will be done in the future can add an ounce to our weight in the scales today. There are only two ways in which we can obtain an increase of present goods at the future's expense—by importing goods from other countries and leaving to posterity the task of paying for them, and by ceasing to make the usual provision for upkeep or repair of capital goods.

Granted, but cannot we make the future share the financial burden? Cannot we by borrowing the money needed compel posterity to bear part of this generation's colossal load? The government may thus postpone its day of reckoning; the nation cannot. The government may choose between paying for the goods it takes by taxes levied today and paying for them by taxes levied tomorrow. The nation must provide the goods today. If we borrowed every cent of the cost of the war, that would simply mean giving future individual creditors the right to recoup themselves from future individual taxpayers. Conceivably loans and taxes might be so distributed that in the future each man would get back in interest just what he paid in taxes. In any case, the next generation will not be repaying this generation; some individuals in 1935 will be paying other individuals in 1935. For every debit there will be a credit. If every bond were burned, the nation would not be (so far as direct consequences go) a cent the richer—or the poorer; taxpayers would gain what bondholders lost. That does not imply that a huge debt is not, as will be noted later, a real burden, a source of social unrest and of serious fiscal problems. It simply means that no fiscal policy we adopt, no financial hocus-pocus, can avert the need of bearing today the costs and sacrifices of the goods necessary for the war. The future cannot aid us, though our policy may harm the future, just as it may distribute very unfairly the burden of the present.*

*Where the goods can be obtained from another country, and paid for by loans for which the next generation is taxed, the burden is shifted thus far. But in a war of the present magnitude, involving nearly every country, this course is possible only in small measure.

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Organizing Present Production.

If, then, it is the present that must furnish the needs of war, and furnish them on a scale undreamed of,—myriads of men, mountains of shells, fleets of ships and airplanes, volcanoes of chemicals, colossal stores of food—and if at the same time millions of workers are withdrawn from production, whence are these goods to come? We can get them from allies or neutrals. We can produce them ourselves by calling out the reserves of labor, the women and youths who were spared industrial work, the unemployed, and the leisured classes at opposite ends of our society. We can utilize labor to better advantage, by scientific management, by improved processes, by overcoming under stress the obstacles which employer's inertia or trade union rules had put in the way of speeding up production. Above all, we can cut down consumption, reducing waste in necessities, and transferring labor from non-essential to essential occupations. We can take in the slack of ordinary days, cut out the extravagances that were still more marked a feature of our industrial order than the famine and penury, and devote this surplus to war needs. One thing most emphatically we cannot do—we cannot produce what the state needs for war and at the same time produce all that individuals used to demand for their private consumption. 'Business as usual' may be a good motto for a short war, or for the panicky transition months at the start of a long war, but it has been proved an impossible policy in a war of the present scale and duration.

How, again, is the government to ensure that the huge and unending stream of war supplies will be provided? In a socialist state, at least on paper, the task would be very simple. The state authorities would merely have to divert state factories and state workmen from one industry to another. There would be no question of profits nor of rising wages or rising prices, nor of loans or taxes. We are, however, living under a system of regulated individualism. Most of us believe that with all its inequalities and all its evils—evils which must be, can be, and are being lessened—this system works out to greater net advantage to the great majority than socialism would secure. Whether this belief is sound or not, the

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system cannot be superseded in the midst of a war. It may be profoundly modified. An awakened patriotism, the recognition of emergency needs, make people ready to acquiesce in a vastly increased measure of state compulsion. Yet the fact remains that there is a limit to the power of such forces, and that the ordinary motives of self-interest and profit-seeking cannot be ignored, particularly as year is added to year.

Compulsion is best applied in negative fashion, in determining what must not be produced or consumed, while the profit-seeking as well as the patriotic motives must be relied on for the positive stimulus, to increase to the utmost the output of what is needed. The state can prohibit the making of whiskey or phonographs or costly silks; it cannot by force make the workmen show energy or the employer develop initiative in making munitions. Russia is a standing proof of the limits of force. Compulsion, then, can best be directed toward lessening the output of non-essentials. Pressure may be exerted on the producer of less essential goods, cutting off his supply of capital by restricting capital issues, cutting off his supply of raw materials by priority orders, cutting off his supply of labor by granting exemption from military service only to men employed in essential industries. It may also be exerted more indirectly on and through the consumer, by compulsory rationing, by prohibiting the importation of certain luxuries, by taxing specific luxuries, and especially by taking from the consumer his surplus purchasing power through loans or taxes. Even with all this done, there remains the need for paying the producer of essentials a price that will cover cost of production and a moderate profit.*

*One phase of compulsion which has been over-emphasized is the fixing of maximum prices. Such a policy may prove effective in a short period, when only the supply of goods already in existence is concerned. Over a longer period, it is necessary to ensure such a profit as will maintain production and keep industry fluid, a task which in practice it is difficult to carry out under a price-fixing regime, in face of the constant shift of the factors determining costs. Fixing maximum prices is merely tinkering with symptoms, an admission that root remedies have been neglected. Prevent that share of the rise of prices which is due to inflation and the failure of the state to tax and of the people to save. Turn

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Savings or Inflation.

How, next, is the state to secure the funds required to pay for its war needs? There are two questions involved which are often confused. First, from what source should the funds come, from real savings or from inflated credit? Second, what means should the state adopt for tapping this source—loans or taxes?

Through countless generations men have worked out a mechanism of money and credit for transferring goods and property which has tremendously stimulated progress, though, unfortunately, it is very easily thrown out of gear. There exists at any given time at the disposal of private individuals a great fund of purchasing power which they may use to secure the goods and services they severally desire. This purchasing power may take the form of metallic or paper money, or it may take the form of credit on the books of a bank, which can be utilized by drawing cheques. Now if the state wishes to secure for war purposes one-third of the product of the people's industry, it should at the same time induce or compel the people to part with one-third of this purchasing power. If this is not done, if the state or its banking agents simply create additional purchasing power, new money, then state and individuals will enter the market in competition for the control of industry. Individuals, offering their money for the goods they desire, will seek to keep industry working on these goods. The state, by offering its additional purchasing power, will seek to divert industry to

or attract production into the essential industries. Investigate the organization of each industry (as advocated by the present Dominion Statistician in his *Cost of Living* report in 1914), laying bare any broad defects or wastes of effort. Remove any monopoly privileges possessed by certain producers. Give publicity to price factors. Then where large profits still are reaped, take the bulk of them for the common good in taxes. There may remain a field within which price-fixing will still be necessary, but it will be very small. Where the supply is relatively fixed and permanent, as in the case of houses, there is clearly room for more price-fixing (that is, rent fixing) than in the case of goods which are rapidly consumed and of which a fresh supply is constantly required. See W. C. Clark, *Should Maximum Prices be Fixed?*, Bulletin No. 27.

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making the goods it needs. With purchasing power increasing faster than production (allowing for a possible increase in production as a whole), prices will rise. Each unit of purchasing power will buy less goods, particularly, of course, as price is a factor both of money and of goods, in those fields where supply of goods is lessening. The mass of the people will be forced by the rise in prices to forego not only luxuries but necessities, and thus in a roundabout, burdensome and incomplete fashion production will be shifted to war essentials. Under such a condition of inflated prices, the chief burden of war rests on the mass of the people, and industry is only imperfectly adapted to war needs.

A crude illustration may be suggested. Suppose that the total production of a community is represented by a million bushels of wheat, and that the people hold a million tickets, each entitling its owner to an equal fraction of the supply. Some hold one ticket, some a hundred. The government of the community wishes to secure one-third of the wheat for its soldiers at war. It has two choices before it. It may induce or compel the people, particularly those who have abundance, to hand over one-third of their tickets, or it may print some hundreds of thousands more tickets. If the latter course is taken, every one who presents a ticket finds that it does not secure as much wheat as before, and the poor man whose one ticket barely kept him alive suffers most from the reduction.

The old way in which inflation was brought about was by the issue of inconvertible paper money. In the present war Russia relied mainly on this dangerously easy method of finance. Germany followed far on the same primrose path, and even France, with its traditions of sound financing, has had recourse to it to an extraordinary extent. The British government adopted it to a limited degree in the issue of the currency notes. The United States, warned by its greenback follies in the Civil War, has steered clear. Canada started down the slippery slope at the outbreak of the war, but fortunately halted after the issue of some \$31,000,000 in Dominion notes, a measure of inflation which may be defended as moderate, a necessary priming of the pump.

A second and more subtle method of inflation is by the

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undue expansion of bank credits, in those countries in which deposits subject to cheque constitute the main form of purchasing power. This may come about by the direct bank purchase of government securities, or by bank loans to individuals to buy securities. Where the increase in bank credit represents a real increase in goods produced and business done, or where loans are temporary advances to be repaid shortly out of real savings, there is little danger. But where, on top of ordinary credit, unlimited additional credit is offered for war purposes, inflation is inevitable. Germany has notoriously relied on dangerous pyramiding methods. English practice has been more conservative, but has still led to serious inflation. In the United States, the possibilities of expansion due to large gold imports, lessened bank reserve requirements, Federal Reserve rediscounting facilities, and the setting up of the War Finance Corporation, have awakened much alarm. The situation has been well summed up by A. C. Miller, of the Federal Reserve Board:

The doctrine set forth in the famous English Bullion Report, which came in the midst of the controversies growing out of the management of the Bank of England's circulation during the Napoleonic wars, and whose truth has been attested by the experience of every modern nation, is that two things are necessary to protect a system of banking currency and credit against the danger of undue expansion. One of these is the *maintenance of adequate reserves*; the other is the *maintenance of adequate liquidity of investment*. By liquid investments is meant bank paper which liquidates itself in short periods of time out of the proceeds of the transactions which have given rise to the paper. . . . Self-liquidating paper being, therefore, paper which is connected with productive operations in industry, it follows that the same banking transaction which gives rise to an increase in the supply of purchasing media through the expansion of banking credit, also gives rise to an increase in the supply of purchaseable goods through the assistance rendered the producer. But

when a bank invests its credit in the purchase of government bonds which are issued for the purposes of war—for operations that result not in the production but in the consumption and destruction of goods—we have an altogether different situation. There has taken place an addition to the volume of outstanding banking credit and purchasing media with little additional in the way of goods to offset it on the shelves of the shop-keeper or the warehouse of the manufacturer. But since prices depend upon the ratio existing between the supply of purchasing power in terms of money, and the supply of purchaseable resources in the form of consumable goods, it follows that an increase of bank resources not offset somewhere in the economic process by an increase of economic resources in the form of consumable goods, must and will lead to a rise in prices.

To avert this danger of deposit inflation, two courses may be followed. The negative course is to limit the use of credit for ordinary purposes, in order to set it free for war needs. The Canadian Finance department has done good work in this direction by discouraging investment in outside securities and by forbidding issue of domestic securities without special permission. Further necessary steps on the part of the banks are foreshadowed in a notable circular issued by the President of the Canadian Bankers' Association to his fellow-bankers, adapted from a similar warning from the Federal Reserve Board, and beginning as follows:

It is clear that if the war requirements of the Government are to be financed without due expansion of banking credits, not only must there be some reduction of existing credits, but there will have to be applied a rigid check upon the further expansion of credit in directions not clearly essential for the prosecution of the war and for the health and necessary comfort of the people. *It is no more possible to superimpose upon the volume of pre-war credits the immense volume of additional credit required by the Government for war purposes than to superimpose upon the volume of pre-war*

production of goods the immense volume of additional goods required by the Government to prosecute the war. . . . Our best hope of avoiding competition between the Government and its citizens for credit, money, labour and material, which can only result in credit and price inflation and higher costs of living, is saving.

The positive course is to stimulate in every way the homely quality of thrift, to induce individuals to lessen their ordinary consumption and turn over the savings to the government as loan or tax. The success of the fourth or Victory loan, to which there were 820,000 subscribers, and the increase of \$400,000,000 in savings (or rather, interest-bearing) deposits in the banks during the war, show that a considerable measure of success has been attained so far as loans are concerned, though there is a different story to tell when it comes to taxes. In the forthcoming loans, a still greater effort must be made to induce people who have not hitherto saved or have sought other investments, to turn over their surplus purchasing power to the state.

War Savings Stamps.

The most conspicuous short-coming in this branch of Canadian war finance has been the failure to utilize the instrument of stimulating and collecting small savings which Great Britain and the United States have found of the utmost value—War Savings Stamps. Under the system adopted in the United States, which has profited by British experience, certificates are issued in the form of a large stamp, entitling the bearer to receive \$5.00 on January 2, 1923, and sold for \$4.12 on January 2, 1918, and for one cent more each month following—that is, yielding four per cent. interest, compounded quarterly. It may be cashed in the meantime, on due notice, at a price to yield about three per cent. simple interest. To assist in accumulating the amount of the large stamp, the government issues a small thrift stamp sold for 25 cents, to be pasted on a thrift card and exchanged for the large stamp when filled. The stamps are on sale everywhere and an aggressive voluntary organization thrusts them upon the spend-thrift at every turn. The plan has worked admirably. Its

chief value is not merely that in eight months it has raised, including payments pledged, \$1,600,000,000 from 35,000,000 persons, of which over \$300,000,000 has already been paid in, but that the money thus secured is genuinely saved, the result of self-denial, not the easy product of bank accommodation. As the man in control, Frank Vanderlip, president of the largest American bank, and one of the leading financiers of the country, has put it: "The thing that it has been necessary to get into the minds of the American people is that they are getting in the way of equipping the army if they compete with the Government for labor and material by buying unnecessary things. . . It was absolutely essential that the people should comprehend the doctrine of goods and services, should see that there was not labor and material enough to gratify all their wants, and leave a remainder sufficient to permit the Government to equip the army. That was the main thing the War Savings movement was intended to accomplish. What it might accomplish in the way of financial aid to the Government was secondary and uncertain." Both aims have been achieved to a surprising degree.

This plan has repeatedly been urged upon the Canadian Department of Finance in the past two years, but thus far in vain. It is understood that as soon as the next Victory Loan campaign is over, a W. S. S. scheme will be launched, under the efficient control of Sir H. B. Ames. It is greatly to be hoped that even at this late day this will be done. There is no other device known to us so well calculated to promote genuine saving during the war, and to encourage permanent habits of thrift. The objection that such stamps would become media of exchange and assist in inflation is baseless; the effect is absolutely the contrary, checking the inflation that comes from over-reliance upon bank credit. The claim that our War Savings Certificates meet the need is not well founded. These Certificates are sold through the banks and post-offices to such people as ask for them; the War Savings Stamps in the United States are sold everywhere by an organized aggressive and at the same time inexpensive campaign. The Certificates are sold only in units of \$10 or more; in the United States 25 cent thrift stamps are sold to apply on \$5 certificates. In a year and

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a half \$12,500,000 Certificates were sold in Canada; in eight months \$1,600,000,000 W. S. S. were sold or pledged in the United States. Experience has further shown that a War Savings Stamps campaign need not interfere with the larger loan campaign, but rather assists it, making saving a habit. *Loans or Taxes.*

Assuming, then, that the source of funds should be savings rather than inflated credit, what of the means of tapping this source—loans or taxes? Should the state take or borrow?

Why not raise all the funds needed by taxation? If the present must provide all the goods used, why can it not provide all the funds to pay for them? Only the surplus of goods over civil consumption can be purchased for war needs; why not purchase this surplus of goods with the surplus of funds over that required to finance civil needs? Such a policy is conceivable, but is hardly practicable. It would mean too drastic a revolution in industry. It would discourage production. It would lead to concealment and evasion. Borrowing is an indispensable policy in great wars.

Why not, then, raise all the funds needed by borrowing? If the present cannot, by borrowing, throw its burden on the future, why need the future complain? Because taxes are essential for overwhelming reasons:

(1) *To maintain credit.* Unless at least sufficient taxes are levied to cover interest and provide a sinking fund, creditors will cease to have faith in the likelihood of repayment, and loans will issue at ever larger discounts.

(2) *To prevent inflation and divert industry to war needs.* Loans as well as taxes may come out of savings, and taxpayers, particularly corporations which have reinvested profits in the business, may borrow to pay taxes. Yet there is an important psychological difference in the effects: to tax a man is much more likely to lead him to retrench than to give him a bond which makes him feel at least as rich as before.

(3) *To tap sources not available after the war.* When the country is in peril and men at the front are giving their lives, it is much easier to induce the men at home to accept heavy taxation than in peace times. Further, there are special

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sources of taxation, such as war profits, which should be largely drawn upon, in equity and to avert popular discontent. .

(4) *To ensure that the well-to-do will pay an adequate share.* The heavier the taxes levied during war, the greater the likelihood that they will be progressive, since the limit is soon reached in the case of the people with a bare surplus over necessities, and all the balance must come from those who have a large surplus above necessities.

(5) *To avert serious fiscal difficulties facing the Governments of the future.* Even if, as is true, practically every cent paid in in taxes to meet war loans will be paid back in interest, it is not merely a matter of book-keeping. To get into the treasury the huge taxes required to meet the interest on to-day's borrowings, and to provide for to-morrow's reconstruction needs, will be a task of tremendous administrative difficulty, particularly if periods of depression come. If soldiers come back from the front to find that after doing the fighting they must also bear the burden of paying off the debt, the way of the government of the day will be hard. Of course, as the Tammany statesman remarked, What did posterity, or to-morrow's government, ever do for me?

It is, then, essential that a large proportion of the cost of the war should be met out of current taxation. What has Canada done, particularly in comparison with the United Kingdom and the United States? A summary statement follows:—

Comparison of Current Revenue applied to Principal of War cost, United Kingdom, United States, and Canada.

CANADA (Millions of dollars).

	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18	1914-18
I. Cost of War, expenditure on					
Canadian account	60.7	166.2	306.5	343.8	877
Surplus (1) of revenue over actual civil budget	—54	—1	+41	+26	+12
Surplus (2) of revenue over 1913-14 civil budget (186,000,000)	—53	—14	+46	+75	+54
Proportion of direct cost of war met by Surplus (1)	def.	def.	13%	11%	1.3%
Proportion of direct cost of war met by Surplus (2)	def.	def.	15%	21%	6.1%

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II. Total Canadian expenditures,					
civil and military	248	339	498	578	1663
Total current revenue	133	172	232	261	798
Proportion of total expenditures					
paid out of current revenue....	53%	50%	46%	46%	48%

III. Ratio borne by average yearly surplus revenue applicable during the war on the war principal, to the pre-war yearly revenue
 $=14/163=1/12$.

UNITED KINGDOM. (millions of pounds).

	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18	1914-18
I. Cost of War, expenditure on					
United Kingdom account only..	416	1068	1418	1914	4816
Surplus (1) of revenue over actual civil budget .....	....	....	....	....	....
Surplus (2) of revenue over 1913-14 total budget	38	138	275	509	960
Proportion of direct cost of war met by Surplus (1) .....	....	....	....	....	....
Proportion of direct cost of war met by Surplus (2)	9.1%	12.9%	19.4%	26.5%	20%

II. Total U.K. expenditures, civil and military, omitting loans to Allies	508	1243	1648	2201	5600
Total current revenue	226	336	573	707	1842
Proportion of total direct exp. paid out of current revenue....	44%	27%	35%	32%	33%

III. Ratio borne by average yearly surplus revenue, during the war, and applicable to war principal, to the average pre-war yearly revenue
 $=240/197=6/5$.

UNITED STATES (millions of dollars).

	1917-18 (yr. end. June 30)	estimate 1918-19 (yr. end. June 30)
I. Cost of war, expenditure on U.S. account only	6,550	17,000
Surplus (1) of revenue over actual civil budget . . . . .	....	.....
Surplus (2) of revenue over 1915-16 total budget	2,870	7,100
Proportion of direct cost of war met by Surplus (2)	44%	42%

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II. Total direct U.S. expenditures, civil and military	7,550	18,250
Total current revenue	3,941	8,182
Proportion of total direct expenditure paid out of current revenue	52%	45%

III. Ratio borne by average yearly surplus revenue during the war, and applicable to war principal, to the average pre-war yearly revenue = $4875/1153=4\frac{1}{2}$.

Much depends upon the country with which we compare our own effort. If we turn to France, war-harried and robbed of vital provinces, or to Italy, isolated industrially and rent by faction, or to Australia, industrially undeveloped and cut off from world markets by lack of ships, or to Germany, confident at first of meeting the cost of the war out of indemnities, our record shows up well. If, however, we turn to countries which like ourselves, have been free from war at home and have been able to expand industrially, such as the United States and Great Britain, there is a different story to tell. Here again, much depends upon the basis taken for comparison. If we ask what proportion of the total direct war-time expenditure (including both civil and military outlays, but excluding loans to Allies), has been met out of current revenue, we find that Canada, like the United States, has met nearly one-half, while the United Kingdom has met only one-third. But this favorable comparison is due to the fact that our war-time expenditure bears a much smaller proportion to our peace-time expenditure than in the case of Great Britain: we have spent on the war, to March 31, 1918, less than five times the sum we used to spend every year in peace-time, while Britain has spent twenty-five times its peace outlay. As to the United States, both its total expenditure and its total revenues have multiplied much more rapidly than ours. If, then, we ask the more pertinent question, how much surplus revenue have we raised during war-time over and above the civil expenditure of each year (or, since these figures are not available for all three countries, how much over and above the total expenditure of the last year before the war), we have a very different situation. In the four years Canada has met only 6% (or on the first basis of computation 1.3 per cent.) of the direct principal cost of the

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war out of surplus revenue, as against 20% met by the United Kingdom; while the United States has met the extraordinary proportion of 44% the first year and proposes to meet 42% this year. The redeeming feature in our case is that in the last two years our showing is very much better than in the first two. Again, we get an idea of comparative effort when we note that the average surplus over civil expenditure during each year of the war is, in Canada's case $1/12$ of a year's peace-time revenue, in Great Britain's, $1\frac{1}{5}$ times, and in the case of the United States, $4\frac{1}{5}$ times a pre-war year's revenue. Clearly, even after due allowance is made for our less developed industrial and financial status, we have a very long way to go before we can measure up to our senior partners.

Taxes on Wealth or on Consumption?

We have, then, not paid out of current revenue that proportion of the total war-cost which the fiscal and social considerations noted above made advisable and which our war-time prosperity would have made possible. In this failure we have many companions. In the further requisite that a large proportion of whatever revenue is raised should come from taxes levied directly on property or income, rather than on expenditure, we have failed more signally, and with fewer fellow-sinners to give us countenance.

A large proportion of taxes levied directly on property or income is essential for three plain reasons. Taxes based on consumption, so far as they are levied on articles used mainly by the masses, as is usually the case, take a much larger proportion of the income of the man with \$1000 a year, who must spend \$800 to keep alive, than of the income of the man with \$100,000 a year. Taxes, such as tariff duties, so far as levied on machinery, materials, or semi-finished goods, raise costs of production all along the line, and put home industry at a disadvantage in world markets, at least in peace-time, when competitive conditions reign. Taxes levied directly, again, are essential to bring home to the taxpayer the actual facts as to the costs of government. On the other hand, some proportion of tariff and excise taxes is desirable in order to make the man of moderate income who might not be reached

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by an income-tax, pay his share, and to attach a penalty to certain luxurious kinds of consumption.*

In the following table a comparison is made of the proportions of direct and indirect taxes in the budget of the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada:

UNITED KINGDOM					
Year	Total Revenue from Taxes	Taxes on Property and Income		Taxes on Consumption	
		Amount	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent
1913-14	£163,000,000	£78,000,000	48	£85,000,000	52
1914-15	190,000,000	101,000,000	53	89,000,000	47
1915-16	291,000,000	163,000,000	56	128,000,000	44
1916-17	514,000,000	379,000,000	74	135,000,000	36
1917-18	613,000,000	495,000,000	81	118,000,000	19

CANADA					
Year	Total Revenue from Taxes	Taxes on Property and Income		Taxes on Consumption	
		Amount	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent
1913-14	\$127,000,000	.....	.....	\$127,000,000	100
1914-15	97,000,000	.....	.....	97,000,000	100
1915-16	124,600,000	1,200,000	1	123,400,000	99
1916-17	174,700,000	13,800,000	8	160,900,000	92
1917-18	198,000,000	22,300,000	11	175,700,000	89

UNITED STATES					
Year	Total Revenue from Taxes	Taxes on Property and Income		Taxes on Consumption	
		Amount	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent
1916-16	\$ 726,000,000	\$ 125,000,000	17	\$ 601,000,000	83
1917-18	4,116,000,000	3,321,000,000	80	795,000,000	20
1918-19	8,357,000,000	5,756,000,000	69	2,601,000,000	31

(est.)

In the face of such figures, comment is needless. Fortunately, a beginning has been made in Canada toward a more adequate fiscal system by the imposition of excess profits and income taxes.

More taxation, less borrowing; more direct, less indirect taxation; to these may be added a third canon—a discrimination between 'earned' and 'unearned' income.

Take three men each receiving and spending \$10,000 a year. A is the owner of \$200,000 worth of five per cent bonds, bought from his own earlier savings or inherited. B receives the same income from the prosperous but risky business which

*The classification into taxes on property and income taxes on consumption is preferable to the more customary classification into direct taxes and indirect taxes. The important question is whether the tax is made proportional to a man's wealth or proportional to his expenditure on certain goods, not whether a tax on consumption is collected from the sellers or from the buyer.

he is actively directing. C is a salaried or professional man with the same net income. Should all be taxed at the same rate on their income? When they die, A's principal will be intact; C's estate will have no further earning power, while B's estate will be of uncertain value. Consideration of this fact has led Great Britain and other countries to impose a lower tax on earned than on unearned income. There is less occasion for making the distinction in a country like Canada, where unearned income is relatively small, but the need exists.

Exemption of War Loan Bonds from Taxation.

One phase of taxation policy has lately received much attention—the question of taxing or exempting the income from war loan bonds.

Certainly the considerations just reviewed seem to tell against exemption. We need more taxes. We need more direct taxes. We need to discriminate in favor of earned, not of unearned, incomes. The political danger of creating a privileged class is also not to be ignored. What, then, is to be said in favor of exemption? The one argument, and it is, if valid, an overwhelming one, is that the exemption privilege was and is necessary to attract sufficient subscriptions, and that the alternative policy of offering a higher rate of interest would have imposed a greater burden on the treasury than any income taxes levied on the bond-income would have offset.

So far as Canadian loans floated in the United States are concerned, this contention is undoubtedly valid. A foreign investor, without any means of controlling the fiscal policy of Canada, would naturally be shy about putting his money into bonds, the interest from which might be absorbed to a large and uncertain degree by Canadian taxes. Yet giving exemption on New York issues did not in the least entail giving exemption on issues floated at home. Great Britain has exempted every loan floated in the United States from British taxation, while at the very same time it was making issues floated in Britain taxable.

Canadian loans floated at home must then be judged by Canadian conditions. It is of course necessary to study them in the light of conditions as they were and were known at the

time; it is easier to-day than it was in 1915 and 1916 to be optimistic about Canada's loan-absorbing power (though before our first domestic loan, Britain had issued loans to which 1 in 60 of the people subscribed, Germany 1 in 25 and France 1 in 12). Any criticism of special phases of the financial administration should, further, be made subject to full recognition of the ability and success of the loan campaign as a whole.

The valid argument for exemption is that investors will offer more (or take a lower interest-return) for a tax-exempt loan, and thus bring so much more into the treasury. How much more will they offer? Approximately the capitalized value of future tax-exemptions. But at what would that value be computed when our first three domestic loans were being floated? At precious little more than zero. At the very time that the Minister of Finance was issuing loans exempt from any income or other federal tax thereafter to be imposed, he was proving repeatedly and convincingly, heaping up argument upon argument, that no income tax should be imposed in Canada, unless as a last dire resort. If there was to be no tax, the exemption would be of no value, and the canny capitalist for whom the Minister was angling would not offer something for nothing. The policy adopted did not even secure present advantage at the cost of future loss; it sacrificed both present and future advantages. Further, even if low income taxes had existed or been foreshadowed, and if these had been allowed for in the price of the loan, any later and unexpected increase in income tax rates is not thus balanced, and adds to the advantage of the holder without any gain to the treasury.

It is true that the supreme necessity was, and is, to raise the funds necessary for our vast war needs. But was the exemption privilege essential to this end? It was and is possible to raise much more by taxation, and by War Savings Stamps, than has been done. It was possible to create a market for our own war loans by restricting other capital issues and discouraging investment in loans abroad, as the Minister of Finance has well done. And as to ordinary loans, there are many factors making for success aside from tax-exemption privileges—patriotism, organization, rate, and conversion privileges. Compare the Victory loans of Canada and the Lib-

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erty loans of the United States.* It is true the United States was fresh and unprecedentedly prosperous, while Canada had borne the brunt of war for many months; on the other hand, the republic was planning a much more drastic tax programme. Patriotism counts in the success of a loan—not with all men, but with most; and surely that factor is as great in Canada as in the United States; it doesn't require a miraculous amount of patriotism to be induced to accept $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for one's money on absolutely safe security. The rate counts, and Canada offered over $5\frac{1}{2}$ while the United States offered $4\frac{1}{4}$. The privilege of conversion into later loans issued at higher rates of interest counts: our first and fourth loans were made convertible at issue price, while the second and third were given this privilege later; the bonds of the first United States loan were convertible, of the second convertible upon conditions, and of the third not convertible. Organization counts, particularly when it is desired to reach the mass of people who have not been in the habit of buying bonds. For organization, both voluntary and paid service is needed. Banks, bond houses, and salesmen must be compensated for their work. When we awoke to the need of making the loans a popular success—as usual, not following the example of Great Britain until it had been endorsed by the United States—we certainly made ample provision for greasing the wheels. We spent $1\frac{1}{4}\%$ of the amount subscribed to our last loan in payment of such services (.62 per cent. to bond houses and salesmen and for advertising, and the balance to the banks for their services, including cashing coupons at par); the United States law fixes a maximum cost of $\frac{1}{5}$ of 1 per cent. for floating any loan. Doubtless our outlay was well spent and well earned, since in a scattered country like Canada organization and publicity are particularly necessary, but it should have brought forth an energy that

*All our loans have been tax-exempt. The first United States Liberty loan was exempt except from inheritance taxes; the second and third, exempt except from inheritance, income surtax, excess profits and profits taxes, while bonds up to \$5,000 principal were also exempt from the latter taxes. Lately, in view of the swinging income taxes imposed and proposed, Congress has increased this restricted exemption to \$30,000 for the Fourth Loan, and to a total of \$50,000 for previous issues.

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would make up many times for any lack of the tax-exemption privilege.

When, however, one tax-exempt loan after another has been floated, a difficult situation undoubtedly arises. There is force in the contention of the Minister of Finance that wealthy people "can buy on the open market what they require from our tax-free issues now outstanding in Canada or the United States. Will the average investor buy and continue to hold taxable bonds when he can obtain tax-free bonds at the same or a slightly increased price on the open market? Would not a taxable issue patriotically subscribed gravitate to a discount through subsequent selling by such investors?" Probably,—though 'a discount' may not necessarily mean less than par: it might mean par, while exempt bonds bore a premium.

We cannot for a moment think of repudiating the pledge to exempt the bonds already issued. We must pay for our failure to impose an income tax early in the war. It is, however, possible, if not to make the next loans wholly taxable, at least to impose a limit on the amount in any investor's holding that will be so exempt, or to make the new bonds liable for income surtax.

4. *The Future.*

The civil budget for 1918-19 amounts to \$230,000,000. This includes \$78,000,000 for debt charges and \$16,000,000 for pensions. If the war should end in August, 1919, these two items would probably reach \$150,000,000. Other peace-time expenditure, including provision for railway obligations, construction of deferred public works, and military and naval outlay, will likely run at least another \$150,000,000. The Finance Minister of the future will have to provide at least \$300,000,000 a year; it may easily be \$400,000,000. That will mean half as much revenue again as is being obtained this year. Whence is it to come?

The old-fashioned way of making ends meet is to cut down expenses. It will be difficult to adopt in Canada. There will be countless urgent and worthy causes calling for aid. There will, as before, be insistent assaults on the treasury from classes or individuals who assume that the country owes them a living. To spend generously without waste, to have faith in

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the future without too greatly mortgaging that future, will be a hard task. Yet it must be faced.

Economy is a question of details. Outsiders know little of the working of government departments, and can offer no suggestions of value. Prudent business administrators may do much. Parliament can do more, as Great Britain's experience suggests. Great Britain, like Canada, has had an able finance ministry, a system of Treasury supervision, a vigilant auditor-general. Yet the special House of Commons Committee on National Expenditures has recently uncovered extraordinary waste and incompetence in many fields. Anyone who reads the dozen reports of this Committee must recognize how helpful a similar body might be in Canada. True, in the past we have had investigating Committees in which Opposition members strove solely to blacken the Government and Government members strove solely to block the Opposition. Perhaps we can do better now. In any event, Parliament, which in Canada as elsewhere, is rapidly becoming a rubber stamp in the hands of the Cabinet, would do well to seek a more active control, or at least survey of administration. There is no better place to begin than in the supervision of expenditure.

Whatever economies are effected, increased revenue will doubtless be required. Whence is it to come, from the national domain and public industries, or from tariff, or excise, or income, or excess profits, or still other taxes?

From the public domain, the federal Government can expect little revenue, as the provinces possess or will possess the bulk of the Crown lands. Railways and other public works are likely to be for many years a source of expense rather than of income.

The tariff must continue to provide a very large share of our revenue, though the decline of our munitions business, based largely on imports of semi-finished material from the United States, will bring a serious reduction for a time. There has been endless discussion of the theory of protection versus free trade, and there will be more, though the aspect of the controversy will be changed. There has, however, been little consideration of the question of fact,—which of the duties imposed by our tariff are protective in effect, and which are

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revenue-bearing? In a later *Bulletin*, an attempt will be made to deal with this question.

Excise taxes on articles produced within the country will also long remain, but will probably be of secondary importance. The revenue from liquors will soon dwindle. The rates levied on tobacco cannot be greatly increased without lessening the yield. The luxury taxes on jewellery, musical instruments, and patent medicines are good war-time expedients, but of more doubtful permanent value. Stamp taxes will probably be retained and extended. On the whole, this branch of the revenue will do well if it keeps up to the pre-war level.

It is chiefly to the income-tax that we must look for the needed increase in federal revenue. A good beginning has been made, in the law passed in 1917 and amended in 1918. As the table over the page shows, there is still room for increase before we reach the British or even the United States levels. Unofficial reports from Ottawa put the probable yield from the income tax in 1918 at \$15,000,000, a decided improvement over the \$2,000,000 forecast in the Budget Speech of 1916, when the proposal to establish such a tax was rejected, but still far from comparing with the British or United States yields given in the second table over the page.* Any increase in rates, however, must be gradual, though there need be no limit to improvements in administration. Too rapid increases in the initial stages, when the administrative machinery is being set up, would make the task of collection difficult. Aside from changes in the rate, differentiation between earned and unearned incomes is the main point to consider. An amendment to cancel the present double exemption granted to both husband and wife possessing independent incomes may be expected. The administration would be facilitated if simple official booklets were issued and distributed widely, explaining in concrete detail the provisions of the Act and the regulations since adopted. There seems need, also, for an increase in the higher administrative staff. The Commissioner of Taxation

*Canadian taxpayers are permitted to deduct any tax payable under the Business Profits War Tax Act from their income tax; if, as is usual, the Business Profits tax is the greater, it is the only one payable.

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Income Taxes levied upon Specified Incomes of married persons, with no dependents, in the United Kingdom, United States and Canada.

UNITED KINGDOM					UNITED STATES				CANADA			
1918 law					1917				1917 Act*			
Unearned Incomes					1918 House Bill				1918 Act†			
Income	Amount	Rate %	Earned Incomes	Rate %	Amount	Rate %	Amount	Rate %	Amount	Rate %	Amount	Rate %
\$	\$		\$		\$		\$		\$		\$	
2,500	281.25	11.25	210.94	8.44	10	.40	30	1.20	...	...	10	.40
3,000	445.31	14.84	356.25	11.87	20	.67	60	2.00	...	...	20	.67
4,000	726.56	18.16	581.25	14.53	46	1.00	120	3.00	...	...	60	1.50
5,000	937.50	18.75	750.00	15.00	80	1.60	180	3.60	...	...	100	2.00
6,000	1,350.00	22.50	1,125.00	18.75	130	2.16	260	4.33	...	...	140	2.33
10,000	2,625.00	26.25	2,250.00	22.50	355	3.55	845	8.45	...	...	392	3.92
20,000	6,812.50	34.06	6,812.50	34.06	1,180	5.90	2,895	14.48	...	...	1,382	6.91
30,000	11,187.50	37.29	11,187.50	37.29	2,380	5.90	5,595	18.65	...	...	2,702	9.01
50,000	20,937	41.88	20,937	41.88	5,180	10.36	12,495	24.99	...	...	5,782	11.56
100,000	47,187	47.19	47,187	47.19	16,180	16.18	39,095	39.10	...	...	17,607	17.61
200,000	99,687	49.84	99,687	49.84	49,180	24.59	101,095	50.55	...	...	50,957	25.48
500,000	257,187	51.44	257,187	51.44	192,680	38.54	297,095	59.42	...	...	195,407	39.08
1,000,000	519,687.	51.97	519,687	51.97	475,180	47.52	647,095	64.71	...	...	499,157	49.92

(Mainly from Report of Ways and Means Committee, H. of R., Sept. 3, 1918.)

*Levied in 1918 on 1917 incomes. †Levied in 1919 on 1918 incomes.

Amount of Income Taxes Collected, in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada, during the fiscal years stated.

	1917-18	1918-19 est.
United Kingdom	\$1,166,000,000	\$1,415,000,000
United States, on individuals	930,000,000	1,482,000,000
United States, on corporations	526,000,000	894,000,000
Total	1,456,000,000	2,376,000,000
Canada	0	15,000,000

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has proved his efficiency in connection with the Business Profits Tax, and also his acceptability to the taxpayers concerned, but the growth of the work of the Department requires more men of first-rate business capacity if the work is to be pushed effectively.

A question for the future is the possibility of arrangements between the Dominion and the provinces by which any province might secure revenue by levying so many additional mills on the income as fixed by Dominion assessment. Under such a plan, the yield from inheritance taxes might also be divided. As to taxes on land values or, better, on unearned increment of land values, for many reasons these are better levied by the province and municipality than by the federal government—notably because of the existence in some districts of local taxes on these bases now, and because of the difficulty of securing uniformity of assessment over the whole Dominion.*

The other important form of direct taxation in force is the tax on business profits.

In the United Kingdom this tax is strictly a tax on war-time profits. The government now takes 80 per cent of all profits in excess of those received before the war. In Canada and the United States the tax is based rather on the excess above a given return on capital. For war-time purposes the British method seems much sounder. The case has been admirably summed up by Secretary McAdoo in urging a change in the present United States tax:

A war profits tax finds its sanction in the conviction of all patriotic men, of whatever economic or political school, that no one should profit largely by the war. The excess profits tax must rest upon the wholly indefensible notion that it is a function of taxation to bring all profits down to one level with relation to the amount of capital invested, and to deprive industry, foresight and sagacity of their fruits. The excess profits tax exempts capital, and burdens brains, ability and energy.

*See *Federal Finance*, I, pp. 24-27.

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The excess profits tax falls less heavily on big business than on small business, because big business is generally over-capitalized and small businesses are often under-capitalized.

The war profits tax would tax all war profits at one high rate. The excess profits tax does, and for safety must, tax all excess profits at lower and graduated rates. Any graduated tax upon corporations is indefensible in theory, for corporations are only aggregations of individuals, and by such a tax the numerous small stockholders of a great corporation may be taxed at a higher rate than the very wealthy stockholders of a relatively smaller corporation.

It may not be practicable now to change the basis of our profits tax, though probably nothing that could be done would have such salutary indirect results in quieting the widespread unrest occasioned by huge war-time profits. The ending of the war will end the possibility of a war profits tax. But should the excess profits tax be made a permanent feature of after-war finance, as many in the United States are already urging?

In its favor there is one strong but not conclusive argument—the ease of collection. It is also urged that such a tax ensures the country sharing in abnormal profits due to the country's silent partnership or to monopoly privileges. This is desirable, but it does not follow that such sharing can be more fairly secured through a tax on business profits than by a tax on income, nor can we be satisfied with a system which allows monopoly to flourish and then merely shares in the loot.

One weighty argument against a tax on the profits of a corporation is that given by Secretary McAdoo. Such a tax may bear no relation to the tax-paying powers of the shareholders, as men of moderate incomes may have shares in a flourishing business, and men of large incomes shares in a small business. But the issue is more fundamental. The socialist is logical in urging confiscation and the abolition of private profit as an incentive to industry. But those who prefer a system of regulated individualism must consider the effects of

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such a method of taxation. The effect must be to put a penalty upon energy and initiative, to discourage pioneering, to stereotype industry. Would the English cotton industry, the American motor-car industry, the iron and steel industry, ever have reached their present tremendous development if the possibility of high profits had not stimulated investment and compensated risk? High profits are the premium society awards to industrial pioneers. They do not mean high prices, but in the end much lower prices. Profits go to the men who can introduce better methods, can organize more efficiently, can seize opportunities more quickly than their fellows. (Of course they go also to men who can overwork and underpay their employees, or gouge investors, or buy monopoly privileges. But it is the business of a society such as ours, avoiding alike *laissez faire* and socialism, to put down vigorously such anti-social methods of profit-making, while giving a free hand to activities in which individual advantage broadly coincides with social advantage). Not only are high profits, fairly earned, necessary to stimulate industry in the initial stages; they are serviceable in building it up. In the average plant, all 'profits' are not distributed to the owners; the bulk usually goes back into the business, with the hope of greater gains later. Run over the roll of industry and note how many have been built up from very small beginnings by reinvestment of profits, and then consider where Canada or the western world would be if it had been made a crime to earn more than eight per cent. I recall a graphic phrase of a witness many years ago, before a government committee, speaking of Canadian implement manufacturers: "Every man jack of them has come up from five dollars." Not many would come up under a permanent excess profits requirement which levelled down all returns.

What, then, of an excess profits tax? The fact that the tax already exists, the ease of collection, and the growing conviction that the state must be considered a partner in all industry, warrant the continuance of a tax, particularly on high profits. On the other hand, the considerations noted in the previous paragraph tell strongly against the proposals to keep the tax up to war heights, or to use it to level the rate of all profits to eight or nine per cent. It does not for one minute

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follow that such profits as are not subjected to the excess profits impost should escape taxation. When the profits are eventually drawn, then they should be levied on, and stiffly levied, by the income tax, while the capital value of the investment will be caught by the inheritance tax. It is not a question of letting profits escape; it is simply a question when to collect the eggs, and how many to leave for hatching, a question of how and when taxes may best be imposed in order not only to secure a large present revenue but also to ensure the growth and prosperity of the industries from which the revenues of the future are to come.

The financial prospect facing us is serious but in no measure hopeless. For a country of great resources, unravaged by war, our burdens will be bearable, particularly in comparison with the load that Europe will carry.* The war has made us realize the immense latent reserves a nation possesses, the unused forces of labor, the added strength that organization and education can yield. The root of the matter is to get more people and more efficient people. If we can put foresight in place of drifting, and team-play in place of class and race and sectional wrangling, there is no reason why we cannot not merely carry the burdens of war but grapple with the greater tasks of peace, in the effort to enable Canada to take its full share in the work of the world and to make our country in reality a land of freedom and equal opportunity, a land where every man and woman among us will have a fair chance to share in the deficiencies and comforts and the possibilities of development that have hitherto been restricted to the few.

O. D. SKELTON.

*If the war ends next summer, the United Kingdom will have to provide, as interest and sinking fund, a sum about twice as great as its whole pre-war expenditure; Germany, aside from any compensation payments, about three times; Canada, about two-thirds a year's expenditure.

MEN IN ONTARIO HIGH SCHOOLS.

MEN familiar with the High Schools of Ontario have recognized for a number of years that the most serious problem which has to be solved by those directing secondary education in the province is that of maintaining an adequate supply of well-trained male teachers. Newspapers here and there occasionally call attention to the situation but very few of them seem to know the facts. They point out the annual decrease in the number of men attending the two Faculties of Education and seem uneasy about the future, but take heart with the reflection that the decrease is no doubt due to 'the present gigantic struggle.' In that millenium of 'after the war,' when all our problems are to be solved, things will readjust themselves. So, with a few commonplaces about the need of higher salaries and the importance of securing more male teachers, the matter is commended to the attention of the Honorable Doctor Cody. After all it is his job; he should worry. He certainly should, for the rapid decline in the proportion of men teaching in the High Schools of Ontario is a very serious matter and it is not due to the war. At most the war has only hastened a movement that was gathering momentum for a decade before 1914.

The proportion of men teaching in our High Schools and Collegiate Institutes has fallen very rapidly since 1905. In that year there were 511 men and 178 women teaching in the schools, in 1910 there were 537 men and 316 women, in 1914, 587 men and 436 women. To put it in another way, the proportion of men declined from 74 per cent. in 1905 to 63 per cent. in 1910 and to 57 per cent. in 1914. The reader will notice from these figures that the number of men increased by only 76 in the ten year period ending 1914 while that of the women increased by 258. Since 1914 the number of men has actually declined, falling to 561 in 1915, again to 554 in 1916, and once more last year to 534, the lowest number since 1907. The women have made corresponding gains, their numbers rising successively to 459 in 1915, to 484 in 1916, and to 517

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last year. In 1917 the men made up not quite 51 per cent. of the teaching force; it is reasonably certain that they are now in the minority. A drop in the proportion of male teachers from three-fourths to less than half in a period of fifteen years could hardly be equalled in the history of secondary education even in the United States.

If the teachers of Continuation Schools were included in one's estimate, the proportion of men would be still further reduced, for there were 179 women and only 62 men teaching in these schools last year. It must be remembered that Continuation Schools in point of fact, though not in theory, are just small High Schools. Most of them prepare candidates for entrance to the Normal Schools and to the Universities. It would be quite fair to include them in one's estimate.

At this point some readers may feel like asking, 'Why worry about having male teachers?' After all this is the women's century. In the last four years women have done all kinds of things that not even the militant suffragettes dreamed of attempting before the war came. Just a word on this point. I have no quarrel with women teachers, but I do think a boy loses something if he never has a man for teacher. Young men are entering Queen's University this month, and no doubt the University of Toronto too, who have never been taught by a man until they came to college. One surely does not need to argue that these youths would have been the better for getting a man's discipline and a man's outlook on life when they were at High School.

What, then, can be done to increase, or at least to maintain, the present proportion of men in our High Schools? I have no solution for that problem but may help someone else to solve it by setting down what seem to me the chief reasons why fewer and fewer men each year are entering the ranks of High School teachers.

The war, of course, with its drag-net of the Military Service Act, is one cause. Even when the war is over, too, the increased demand for young men in other professions and in business will still further reduce the available supply of teachers. But after all the war is not the chief reason why young men shrink from taking up teaching as a life work.

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Few people outside the profession have any idea of the extent to which the able teacher is hampered by bureaucratic regulations. For instance, he may not choose the textbook he prefers but must, on pain of severe penalties, use only the authorized one. This requirement might be no great hardship if the official textbooks were the best available in each subject. In the case of some subjects at least it is notorious that they are not. Textbooks, however, are among the minor vexations of the teacher. If he is unlucky enough to be made a principal his real troubles begin. A Public School Inspector whimsically remarked that he had spent forty years in the profession and had seen a good many changes, but had never got away from the three R's. In his youth they stood for 'reading, riting, and rithmetic,' and in his old age for 'rules, regulations, and reports.' The Ontario education system is the most thoroughly regulated and beruled on earth. Now men, especially able young men, eager to try out their strength and make their own experiments, don't take kindly to the rigid paternalism of our Department of Education. Young women seem to suffer it more gladly, whether from greater docility of nature or because three out of four of them have no intention of staying in the profession, I leave for the reader to decide. At any rate, I am certain that the restrictions with which Ontario teachers are hedged about, chafe and fret and drive into desertion the very men who with more freedom would be perfect paragons of teachers.

So they go into law or business, into medicine or engineering, fields where a man has elbow room and where there are prizes worthy of a struggle. 'And rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race,' says the Psalmist. In our schools the strong man's pace is regulated to a decorous jog-trot with the very length of the steps carefully prescribed; and the prescription is enforced. I have noticed in recent years, especially among abler students, the growth of a feeling that found expression last year in a young man's answer to my question why he had given up the thought of being a teacher and gone into engineering. 'Oh, it's a kind of sissy job.' There you have it—a kind of sissy job. That it isn't altogether 'a sissy job' is no fault of departmental regulations.

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In the second place, there are no big prizes open to the teacher. It is quite true that he is reasonably well paid, or was at the outbreak of the war. Since then, of course, the cost of living has increased far more rapidly than salaries have. Even yet, however, the average pay is quite respectable. The salary of male assistants, for instance, in the High Schools and Collegiate Institutes rose from an average of \$1023 in 1905 to \$1636 in 1914. That year a number of senior teachers resigned to go overseas or to take up military duties at home. As a result the average dropped to \$1634 because the newcomers into the profession began on a lower scale. In 1916, however, it rose to \$1667 and last year to \$1740. There has been a further increase this year. To most people a salary of \$1800 a year seems quite enough to pay teachers, especially in view of the long two months' holiday in which teachers are supposed to bask in the sunshine of their own prosperity. These critics never think of the long years of expensive preparation and hard work needed to secure the specialist's certificate—four years at High School, five years at a university, and one in a Faculty of Education; that is, if the candidate passes his examinations regularly and suffers no setback in his course. At the end of it he can begin work at from \$1000 to \$1500 and may rise in twenty years, if he is very successful, to one of the eight or nine principalships paying \$3000 to \$3500. His college rival who went into law or medicine probably has by that time a practice that nets him from two or three to ten times as much. Moreover, he may have become a figure of provincial or even national prominence, for law and medicine are professions in which a man is allowed and even expected to have opinions on public affairs, and to express them where and when he sees fit. Even the church, which all the religious congresses have been telling us lately is the Cinderella among the professions, offers bigger prizes and wider scope. A young minister may be pastor of a fashionable city church at \$7000 a year or preach every Wednesday through the editorial columns of *The Globe* to 90,000 long-suffering subscribers. But the teacher—wasn't it a Greek of Pericles' time who said about a friend he had lost sight of: 'He is either dead or teaching school'? Our educational authorities, too,

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seem to think there are no men of first rate ability in the profession or else they are curiously blind when important positions are to be filled. Is it any wonder that an able young man hesitates to become a teacher in Ontario when he sees the Provincial Government, with the approval of the public, select a clergyman to succeed a doctor as Minister of Education?

Finally, men soon cease to enter a profession in which women receive equal pay. This dictum may sound ungallant but it states a fact that those directing our educational policy may as well face now. I can almost hear the chorus of objectors. Women teachers will declare with indignation that they don't get equal pay at present and women's clubs will proclaim with fervor that 'equal pay for equal work' is the foundation for women's rights. It is one of the main planks in the nice ready-made platform that Mrs. Pankhurst left, with Lloyd George's blessing on it, for the newly formed Women's Party of Toronto.

Let us take the objections one at a time. It is quite true that some old-fashioned Boards of Education pay male teachers one or two hundred dollars more than female teachers with the same technical qualifications. The explanation, of course, is that school boards are made up of mere men, who are naturally prejudiced in favor of their brethren. In most city schools, however, there is no distinction made in the schedule between men and women once they are appointed on the staff, although when a vacancy occurs a male applicant is usually given the preference. The difference between the average salaries of men and women assistants is due to other reasons than sex. For the years 1905, 1914, and 1917 the salaries of male assistants averaged \$1023, \$1636, and \$1740. For the same years women received \$723, \$1104, and \$1167, a considerably lower average. The chief reason for the disparity is the difference in technical qualifications. Of the 534 men teaching last year, 435 were university graduates, while only 328 of the 517 women held degrees. Besides that, nearly 25 per cent. more of the men held specialists' certificates. Further, the men's average length of service was very much greater than the women's. As a result of their higher qualifications, of their longer service, and of the preference of school

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boards for male teachers, men hold most of the desirable positions. The tendency of school boards towards the policy of 'equal pay for equal work' is driving men out of the smaller High Schools into the Collegiate Institutes. In 1917 the percentages of male teachers in the Collegiate Institutes and High Schools were 63 and 26 respectively. We are rapidly nearing the condition that has already been reached in some states of the Union where there is a male principal and a bevy of female assistants in each High School. Indeed there are now half a dozen High Schools in Ontario without a man on their staffs. These reflections, however, are a bit aside from the point I wish to make clear, namely, that the difference in the salaries paid male and female assistants is due in the main to a difference in their qualifications and their length of service.

'Equal pay for equal work', says the Women's Party. Put in that way the argument begs the question. No one but a born fool would dispute the proposition. But what is meant by equal work? There is a confusion, it seems to me, between service rendered the school board and service rendered the state. Suppose we admit that women are as effective teachers as men. In our schools the women teachers are spinsters; they are practically a celibate teaching order though not one under vows. The service they render is that of teaching. Men teachers, on the other hand, nearly all marry and have families. To rear and educate their children is a service to their country. Some one has to pay for that service or it will cease. In the past men have been paid more than women for what, on the face of it, seemed equal work. In reality they were paid by the municipalities for service to the state. The Women's Party should at least make adequate state pensions for motherhood a corollary to their demand for equal pay. If they don't they are merely pushing the interests of aggressive young business women at the expense of the mothers of the nation. Is it impertinent to suggest that platforms with fifty planks in them, even if platforms kindly supplied by Mrs. Pankhurst, shouldn't be passed at an hour's sitting?

Let us get the main point clear; if women receive the same pay as men, men will not go into the profession. Moreover, many men will leave it and the feminization of the

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schools, as someone has called it, will be rapidly completed. Then, unless history fails to repeat itself, salaries will cease to rise or will actually decline. Our city public school teachers, for example, are paid less than the city street cleaners just because they are in a profession practically abandoned to unmarried women. The street cleaner has a family to support and he has to be paid for it; the teacher has to be paid only for herself. What is going to be the effect of the entrance of women into all sorts of professions it is much too soon even to prophesy about. It needs no prophet, however, to predict that our whole social organism is going to be radically changed. There are already numerous cases in every city of men and women entering into what are practically business partnerships in which they both continue their former occupations. It seems to be part of these agreements that there shall be no children to interfere with business and pleasure. The state must do something to solve this problem. It is the same problem, in another form, as the one we set out with, which, the reader will recall, was the problem of keeping male teachers in our High Schools. At present men are repelled from the profession by bureaucratic regulations, by the lack of adequate prizes to be gained, and by the increasing competition of women at equal pay. How far these causes are removable is a problem that, like my friends the editors, I prefer to hand over for solution to those who have the official responsibility of solving it.

J. F. MACDONALD.

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No summer in history has passed in such an agony of suspense for so many millions, has seen such great and sudden reversals of fortune, or been pregnant with mightier issues. The destinies of mankind have hung on these crowded months, and future historians will analyse every turn in the struggle. Any account, however brief, of the last three months must include the movements of the early summer and spring if their meaning is to be understood.

At the beginning of this year's campaign the Germans seemed to have the ball at their feet. All the efforts of the Allies to reduce the reserves of the enemy to the point where the line could be successfully assaulted—efforts that had stopped just short of victory—had been nullified by the political débacle in Russia. Once again Germany stood where she was before the Marne; but this time she was inflamed by the certainty that the East was hers. True, a cloud no larger than a man's hand was rising in the extreme west. But it must have seemed to the laborious shapers of her strategy that American aid would stint the Allies of vital food and material only to swell the swift and complete triumph by the defeat and capture of a small untrained contingent—hostages for America's good behaviour. When Hindenburg said that he would be in Paris by April 1, he made no idle boast; that was the German hope. It had to be the German plan. For, as can now plainly be seen, he was fighting against time.

The situation lent itself to the most perfect illustration of the German and the French theories of strategy. On the one hand there was the 'hammerblow', long and carefully prepared, delivered with sudden and overwhelming force, and intended to brush aside any attempt to delay or parry its descent. If it succeeded, it was final; if it could be checked, by however small a margin, then time—that was life to the Allies, that the Germans could not afford to give them—had to be spent in preparing the great machine for its next ponderous descent. On the other hand the Allies depended on a sparing use of men,

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on drawing in the enemy reserves past the point of safety, on waiting till the critical moment for a counterstroke; then at length raining upon them blow after blow so that there could be no possibility of rearranging their forces or replenishing the reserves that they had spent, till in a crescendo of widening attacks the supreme moment arrived when the now staggering army, with the general reserve nearing depletion, should be struck in all its parts, with all the force of which the Allies were masters. This is the rationale of the struggle of this summer. It cannot be understood unless we remember that the Germans were superior in the spring, still slightly superior when Foch launched his counterstroke in July, and that it is his wary resistance and relentless seizure of his advantage, that has stripped the enemy of their power to strike. It is not true that the opposing forces were about equal last March. Mr. Lloyd George only made it appear so by confounding combatant and non-combatant forces in France, and omitting to note that the corresponding enemy auxiliary troops, which ought in fairness to be counted on the other side of the ledger, were largely on the line of communications in Germany. The actual German superiority, according to a trustworthy judge, was as five to four,* and their local preponderance on the front they selected for attack was much greater. 'The enemy's first and most powerful blows', wrote Sir Douglas Haig, 'fell on the British. His superiority of force was nearly three to one.' This testimony from the most competent of witnesses must be borne in mind if we are to do justice to the men who bore the brunt of the battle or to the commanders who snatched victory out of defeat.

1. On March 21st, the first blow fell. The plan apparently had two parts. The attack on the British right was to roll our army back on Amiens, cut the lines to the Channel ports, and sever the British from the French. Then a second force, secretly assembled in Flanders, was to break the line and to turn south. Thus the British armies ran the risk of being encircled and cut off from their allies and from their base.

*The Germans had 207 divisions, of which 80 had been picked for special training; the Allies had about 160.

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The German hope may be gauged by the Kaiser's utterance on the opening day. 'We are at the decisive moment of the war and one of the decisive moments of German history. The prize of victory must not and will not fail us.' Hindenburg added four days later: 'The thing is over. We have begun to move. The first act is ended.' The first act had begun, but it was not in the enemy's power to decree the decisive moment.

The battle before Amiens enabled the Germans to cut one railway line and to bring the others under long-distance fire. But the British with formidable losses brought the attack to a standstill, thanks to the steadfastness of the armies to the north and south and the French reinforcements. It was now a choice between attacking, as planned, in Flanders, and throwing in the reserves gathered there to exploit the gains before Amiens. The enemy followed the prearranged plan, whether for good or bad it would be hard to say. They broke the line in the battle of April 4, and turned north towards Calais, but the terrible days of April 27-9 pinned them before the ridge of Scherpenberg.

Thus the two attacks just failed in their main purpose. The enemy had, however, exploited the division in the Allied command; he had, to what extent we cannot say, drawn in and pinned our reserves in the north, and held them there, as it must have seemed, both by the threat to the Channel ports and by the poverty of communications between the northern and the southern parts of the great salient. Thanks to the persistence and courage of Mr. Lloyd George and to the self-abnegation of the Allied leaders, the first handicap was at last removed. One may recall M. Clemenceau's remark that his admiration for Napoleon had declined. He had only to fight against a coalition! If it is difficult in ordinary circumstances to persuade armies to fight under a foreign leader, however distinguished, it is still more trying to brigade troops of different nationalities together. The Americans generously consented to this—a proof of their loyalty and of the extreme need of the Allies. Henceforward the dominating fact of the great battle was the immense increase in the numbers that the United States poured into France and swiftness with which they could be used. 'Give us time', said Hindenburg; but the

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time he took in those precious weeks, in 'the systematic and intended pauses', was our salvation.

2. The attack on the French army was ready on May 27. It penetrated 35 miles to Chateau Thierry on the Marne. The French losses were heavy and the Kaiser began to speak magnanimously of an already beaten enemy. But the right flank of the salient was dangerous, and the German effort to widen it brought the first definite evidence of a new rhythm in the Allied defence. Our reserves were no longer thrown in piecemeal, in a desperate effort to bar the way. Their masses brought the enemy to an equilibrium on the Matz and before the forest barrier that protected the approaches to Paris.

The situation now was this. The Germans had made three deep salients in the Allied lines, salients that might become an asset or a terrible liability according as they were or were not able to make use of their position. In the first attacks they had used 85 divisions before Amiens and 30 in Flanders out of about 207 on the western front. In the second 50 divisions had been thrown in, and 30 on the Matz, latterly at great cost. The long pause from before June 18, when the last attack on Rheims failed, to July 15 is evidence both of the German losses and of their confidence in victory at the next attack. But our reserves were now better grouped and rapidly increasing, and the series of successful local attacks begun by Foch gave him invaluable information about the strength and direction of what was intended to be the last German offensive. Equally it placed him in a position to attack with the greatest effect when the critical moment came.

3. The Austrians attacked on the Piave line on June 15. It was an ambitious effort on a 70 mile front. Notwithstanding the terrible Italian defeat of last year and the enforced withdrawal of British and French troops, it ended in complete failure, and nature intervened to turn failure into disaster. If the Germans bore this blow with complacency, they were soon to learn that they too were not invincible.

4. On July 15 the final attack was launched. The Germans hardly troubled to conceal its object. On a 55 mile front east and west of Rheims they threw in as great a number of divisions as in the battle before Amiens. If their operations

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had proceeded according to plan, Gouraud's army would have been overwhelmed and, advancing rapidly to Chalons, where Attila had had been defeated fourteen centuries before, they would have caught the armies of the east in the rear. At the same time the corps holding the Mountain of Rheims would be enclosed in a narrow salient by the advance of another army to the west. In short, the French army would be broken in three parts and the enemy would stand between Paris and the frontier fortresses. Foch took that risk in order to strike at the flank that the Germans would leave exposed in their advance. The 25 divisions to the east of Rheims wasted their blow in the air, and the end of the day saw them ruined and useless for further offence. An antidote to the German tactic had been devised. On the west the enemy crossed the Marne and pushed south, not without a foretaste of the quality of the American troops brigaded with the French, till they came against the forests round Epernay, where they were held up.

Then the face of the war changed in five hours. Clausevitz has said that the 'defensive that preserves is easier than the offensive that desires to acquire.' *But it preserves for the battle which alone can give decisive results.* The moment for that battle had now arrived, since the enemy were deeply pledged. It will be remembered that the local attacks carried out by Foch in the previous weeks had a definite tactical aim. That aim was now to be revealed.

On July 18 General Mangin, who had secretly concentrated an army in the forest of Villers-Cotterets,* fell on the exposed right flank and, occupying Mont de Paris above Soissons, rendered the main line of communications into the great salient useless. There were more than thirty divisions in the salient with all the mass of material needed for an offensive. Further, 100,000 of these were south of the Marne. The offensive was strangled. The enemy first hesitated for a day, then withdrew across the Marne. Then he began to throw reinforcements into the already congested pocket, and to counter-attack with great loss. First and last he had 60 divisions in

*Compare Napoleon's constant use of forests as masks for his preparations.

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the pocket, and he even borrowed from the 30 divisions held in reserve by Prince Rupprecht to the north. At this cost of precious reserves he managed to keep the Paris-Verdun railway to the south of the Marne closed a few days longer. But the steady pressure of the Franco-Americans towards Fère-en-Tardenois, where his communications centred, compelled him to retire from the Marne. His forces remained congested, but the French communications now were free. Hindenburg, who spoke of the first act as ended in March, now said that one must give oneself time to lay foundations; the Kaiser again began the old refrain about submarines; and Ludendorff boasted that the enemy's will to annihilate would yet be broken. All this was but an admission that the spirit of the offensive had passed from the Germans.

5. For a systematic series of pauses between attacks was now substituted a systematic and ceaseless pressure on the staggering enemy. His shock-troops had been used in the frustrated offensive; now the second-class troops, conscious of their inferiority, had to bear the onset of our divisions, eager to regain lost ground, secure of ever-increasing reinforcements, of higher fighting value than the Germans, and supported by the formidable British tactical device of the tanks. If doubts about the power of the Allies to keep up an offensive were entertained by some, the event has dispelled them. But they depended on a wrong interpretation of the battle. The object of war is to break up the enemy organizations till they no longer can carry out his will. But he was in large measure disorganized by the failure of his offensive. The formation of special shock-divisions was in itself a handicap when the enemy was thrown on the defensive. He has been unable to redistribute his troops to guard that line south of the great salient, which still remains his weakest sector. Each attack has increased his disorder, congested his troops and material in narrower areas, and compelled him to break up divisions† in order to fill up gaps. *The power of the attacking army will therefore increase proportionately as the battle continues, and that of the defence will diminish*—and this is what has hap-

†He had broken up 20 five weeks ago.

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pened. Hence the desperate efforts of the enemy to break off contact. Whether he seeks the shelter of his lines—Siegfried, Bruning, and what not—or offers to evacuate invaded territory, or prays for winter, he has a single purpose—to avoid a battle which hurries him nearer to disaster. The question now is, not whether the Allied armies shall enter Germany, but how many of the great host that swept into France four years ago will see the Rhine again as an army.

So closely related are the phases of the great battle that it cannot be analysed in a few pages, for each attack had repercussions far beyond its own sector. Thus the salient of the Lys was reduced mainly by attacks to the south, which drained off reserves necessary for its maintenance. If we could express it in a formula, its course might be stated as follows. The object of the whole struggle was to pin the congested forces of the enemy in the great salient. His object was to withdraw from the battle and redistribute his divisions. In the first stage the pockets he had made were reduced, thus freeing our communications and increasing our power of attack. But these reductions were so managed that they were not, as he might have made them, mere shortenings of his line. The attacks actually lengthened the line by creating salients within the salient assaulted; then by threatening the communications they compelled him to withdraw with heavy loss of men and material. Again, Allied attacks were so timed as to anticipate his withdrawals and force him to purchase them at our price. The attack on the Amiens salient is an admirable example of this method. On August 8, Rawlinson moved forward on the Somme front, and Debeney advanced his left wing, threatening Roye. Then successively Debeney moved his right centre, and his right, cutting two lines of retreat and leaving but one opening from Montdidier. Montdidier captured, the salient had lost its strong point, and Humbert immediately struck at the exposed left flank. This involved a hasty retreat and further congestion under pressure from three sides. Then General Mangin, who had begun the series, took up the running to the left between the Oise and the Aisne. With Humbert he attacked the new salient of Lassigny on three sides and at the same time outflanked the line of the

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Aisne. Such is the method which has rendered the enemy withdrawal so enormously expensive. We cannot here follow the details of the battles that spread to the north and drove the enemy into his old lines, lines that he fondly hoped to occupy for the winter. If he now laid stress on position instead of movement, ditches rather than divisions, it was clear evidence of his extreme need. But the battles of September disappointed his hopes.

With the British attack on the Drocourt switch, where Canadians added to their imperishable record, the first breach in the line was made. Although it did not turn the Hindenburg line, it shook the front in Flanders and prepared the way for an even greater operation. But first Foch removed a threat to his liberty of action. The salient of St. Mihiel, which cramped any movement from Verdun and interrupted free communication with Toul and Nancy, was reduced by the American first army. Then began those major operations which pressed north in the Champagne and west upon Cambrai. The Cambrai-St. Quentin positions fell, and the northern extension of the battle bids fair to free half of Belgium from occupation. While the next German line is threatened at Valenciennes and possibly at Mezières, it is as well to recollect two points. The Ardennes forest behind that line renders lateral communication so difficult that the Allies may attack the two wings in detail. Further, the bridge head at Verdun, now freed from the St. Mihiel salient, gives an obvious vantage point for a thrust east of the Meuse and behind the last hold of the enemy in France. Since the main German reserves were and are held in the north by constant pressure, Ludendorff's difficulties are likely to increase. It may be remembered that a similar difficulty in communications held German troops before Nancy while the first battle of the Marne was in progress.

6. The Bulgarian and Turkish victories might at first sight appear to justify that school which constantly urged that the war could be won in the East. It was indeed hard to see how the Allies could gain an advantage there against an enemy that held the interior lines. We won now because the interior lines were useless to a power without reserves. Our Eastern campaigns had two functions. Politically they were necessary to

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maintain Allied prestige and to curb Germany's Eastern ambitions. Strategically they kept our communications open, did rather more than hold the enemy, and then in the last stage, postponed by Russia's defection, overwhelmed armies that Germany was now powerless to help. The command, 'Fight neither with small nor great, save only with the king of Israel', is sound strategy. With Germany labouring in defeat, her dependents were certain to succumb, and one marvellous week brought two to their knees.

This was the first plain signal of coming ruin. Since August the Germans had begun to shake off the heavy veil of illusion that sixty years of success had bound about their eyes. At a stroke their Eastern dreams vanished; all their privations had gone for nothing; and they could see better than their enemies how Austria was crumbling. Six months ago they thought that Slavdom had been bound to their conquering chariot-wheels. Now it appeared within their own gates, a menace from the Baltic to the Adriatic. So hard a thing it is to extinguish national feeling! And in the West they had lost their throw. We must give full weight to the political as well as to the military causes of the peace campaign. With amazing ingenuousness German rulers thought that President Wilson must be weak because he was humane. A change of Government after consultation with the General Staff, a Parliamentary glove drawn over the mailed fist—and behold a democratic Germany. The diplomatic exchange that followed was disastrous. It revealed to the German people their military impotence, and pointed to revolution as their best hope.

If Austria is to receive a separate answer, we may perhaps suspect that her case requires different treatment. Germany must submit to amputation if national wrongs are to be redressed. But there is every sign that the component parts of Austria are on the eve of achieving their own deliverance. The unholy compact which allowed Austria and Hungary each to hold the Slav majority in subjection depended on the support of Berlin. That was the real bond of the Triple Alliance and a main cause of this war. But when Prussia totters, the unstable equilibrium no longer holds. Strident voices in the past have cried out against the folly of fighting on to liberate

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Austrian nationalities. Why, they asked, add a Quixotic political ideal to the only end that should concern us—the saving of Europe from militarism? But these are not two ends; they are one, and neither can be reached before the other. Europe will be saved by the defeat of Prussia; with the defeat of Prussia Austria will dissolve into her constituent parts; with that dissolution effected Prussia cannot revive her military power. She depends on the subjection of other races, and the day for that is gone in Europe.

Since we cannot know Germany's capacity for continuing the war, or, what is much the same thing, the condition of her home front, it is rash to prophesy. If there is not a conservative reaction, her rulers must fear an imminent revolution. At all events, there is a plain road before the Allies:

Draw down the curtain, then, and overscreen
This too-protracted verbal fencing-scene;
And let us turn to clanging foot and horse,
Ordnance, and all the enginry of Force!

A. S. FERGUSON.

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L'ESPRIT FRANCAIS.

SEVERAL eminent French writers have recently undertaken to characterize the genius of the French people, and to set forth its contribution to human progress as a counter measure to German propaganda which repeated the old tales of French fickleness, immorality, decadence and what not. While some have followed the historic method and others have rather sought to present a portrait of composite France, no one has definitely attempted, with the possible exception of Romain Rolland, to show the bent—or 'curve' as we might say in these graphical days—of the *esprit français*; and yet a study of the main tendencies of the French genius will partly explain the traditional half-depreciatory view of France, and also that conception of contemporary France which has forced itself with irresistible conviction on public opinion within these last four years.

What that conception is we can determine in a number of ways. It is the renascent France of Jean Christophe, the France, if you prefer to look at material things, which discovered or perfected the motor car, the aeroplane, the 75 and radium. It is the France of Papa Joffre, the poilu and of Foch, and surely the future historian who treats dispassionately of this gigantic convulsion will not fail to contrast the homely Joffre, the intellectual spiritual Foch, with the gang of Lanzknecht and Rittermeister who rode in the Kaiser's train; for the political student it is not so much immediate figures, an Albert Thomas stumping stiffly in his leggings from scene to scene, and followed faithfully by the camera man, nor a Briand, a Viviani, a Painlevé, although the patriotic principle

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of effacement practised by each of these is a new feature in French politics; it is not even Clemenceau, the man of the emergency, for one remembers that in republican Rome the Dictator had a way of disappearing once his day and work were done: it is rather in fact a Delcassé and a Cambon who in the subtler art of diplomacy did prepare and practice those methods of strategy, of scientific study of their problems, with a systematic scheme for dealing with those problems, which we see now so plainly to be the methods of the great Foch; for the student of literature what is interesting is this, that whereas apart from the inspired note of one or two master singers, war writers in England have adapted themselves to war conditions, but have gone on being themselves, business as usual being after all their motto, and very good business too—whether Kailyard or Kipling, Bennett or Wells—France on the other hand not above the battle but in the centre of the mêlée has found her most essential expression in “Le feu” of Henri Barbasse—a book in which we see Dantean figures walking through torments, and yet as they turn their faces our way, or for a moment come near enough for us to catch their accents, we find them not warriors, not Frenchmen only, but the quintessence of the soldiers of this war, men who have steeled themselves to endure suffering and death, who first and last remain human: that surely is the essential artistic representation of this world passion. A million homes have sent their sons into the ‘fire’; potentially they are heroes—one in five hundred may gain the hallmark of the hero—but each and every one of them remains to the folk at home ‘our laddie’ or ‘mon homme’, an essentially human figure, who any day may be reported maimed or dead. Wells fusses well meaningly about a score of little problems of his own pet creation of post-Protestantism. Barbasse etches in a few lines the essential tableau of the war.¹

¹A writer in the *Revue de Deux Mondes* (who calls Mowgli a super-man!) maintains the thesis that Kipling in his book on Sea Warfare, is writing the epic of the struggle of the free, the kindly seafarer against a cruel and malignant despot. His theme is unquestionable, but Kipling has a little too much of the Prussian himself to be its singer.

L'ESPRIT FRANCAIS

Quelle est donc cette race française? says Taine, and supplies too soon an answer. If we set aside all mere question begging theories of race, we have to begin with two or three preliminary facts, which provide the first elementary constituents of what we now know as the *esprit français*. Gaul for us is the link between the modern and the classic world, and at the same time the finest fruit of Roman imperialism. To-day Britain finds itself, willing or unwilling, committed to develop India and Egypt to the point of adult nationality. Rome did not go so far, but in the case of Gaul she brought the people of a primitive civilization up to the highest social level of the time. With Rome itself becoming a cosmopolis and Italy a plantation, Roman life and thought and language were met more easily in the normal type in Gaul than in Italy. It was to Gaul that Rome went for her schoolmasters. It was Gaul that might have fashioned a new Latin tongue, but for the accident of the coming of the Franks. The Franks, whether we regard them as coming as conquerors, or as coming as policemen who then made themselves masters, left their own speech across the Rhine and adopted the tongue to which however they gave their own name. And it would seem as if they contributed one accidental element to the new-forming speech. What that speech was on its polite or popular side we cannot precisely determine, but since the vernacular of one age is the literary language of the next, we can form some conception of the language of the fifth or sixth century from the brilliant literature of the langue d'oc in the day of the troubadours. All the tone and colour and melody of the language of the people of the Midi, whose echo we may still catch in the poetry of Mistral, was lost where the Frank set his foot and built his home. What happened to the langue d'oïl must have been roughly somewhat as follows: An uncultured people assimilating a strange tongue, as the foreign element in New York or Chicago learn English, must go through this stage: one word, picked up at random out of a number of possible terms, stands for the idea seeking to be expressed at a given moment and represents that idea in denotation as an algebraical symbol. The notion of 'guessing' in 'guess' is more utterly absent than it is in the mind of the ordinary American user of the

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term. The language is shorn of all mystery, of shades of meaning and the wealth of association, of poetic worth, but eventually it may provide the terminology of a perfect prose.

A mere accident if you will decided that this new people should as the pillars of orthodoxy, as the conquerors of the Hun, as the subjects of Charlemagne, and the figures of the Song of Roland, as the creators of that architecture mis-called Gothic, and as the champions of Christendom in the Crusades, throughout the mididle ages be in action and energy the representatives of Europe. This is even more true socially than politically. France in fact politically experienced varied fortunes. Although from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer England became socially a French province, the adventurer monarchy founded by the Conqueror was more consistently vigorous and ambitious than that of French rulers, and a Henry II, an Edward III, a Henry V sought to be if not kings of France, at any rate kings in France. It was the inevitable reaction to the horrors of foreign invasion which ultimately rallied the French people about their king and strangely enough the rallying point or figure was a woman, Jeanne d'Arc. Thus was asserted an old Celtic institution, the equality of the woman in position with the man, an institution evident in Irish and French marriage customs, which makes itself felt again and again in French history. With Joan the Maid it is the woman patriot, the spiritualized martyr, yet retaining through the brief pages of her life touches of the sauciness of the peasant girl. But the eternal feminine comes out in French social history in all manner of ways. At one time it is a Marquise de Rambouillet establishing the salon, that is to say restoring under more modern conditions the place of woman in chivalry; at another it is the *précieuses* whom Molière, henpecked though he be, satirizes from the purely male standpoint; at another it is Madame de Maintenon, Madame Roland, Madame de Staël, Madame Recamier, Charlotte Corday, the viragos of the feast of pikes or la Ticoteuse at the foot of the guillotine. In a far wider sense it is the French *madame*, who directs the household and often the business—may we instance La Veuve Cliquot?—decides the career of her children, and in these days of dire need has been the mainstay of French life and industry.

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No wonder, when one considers all this, that the national drama which Racine created, has been since then essentially a feminine drama, and that in French acting it is the actress who is supreme.

On the foundation of these elementary conditions the structure of the French character is built. It is perhaps because France was the first established society of modern Europe, that one finds there a greater uniformity, that representative men do indeed represent the nation, that it is possible to lay down principles and form theories, as to the development of that character. But it is not until European nations reach maturity at the Renaissance, that any definite assertion can be made about the bent of the French genius, and even then not until the effervescence of the Renaissance has subsided. Medieval men it has often been insisted were citizens of Christendom, their common features being more marked than their differences. Equally the men of the Renaissance were of the brotherhood of the new learning; and so not even Rabelais or Montaigne can be claimed to be purely and distinctively French, not with anything like the cogency that Calvin could be so claimed.

The next generation does, however, produce an essential French figure in the person of Descartes. With him the French genius finds itself, constructive, systematic, innovating, but proceeding step by step, and claiming as its guide reason—henceforward for the French the Supreme Being. We need not concern ourselves with the rather subtle if not far-fetched connexion that has been established between Descartes with his principle of *Volonté*, and Corneille with his strong but not silent heroes, both being considered the outcome of an age of struggle and strong will. Nor is it necessary to refuse to take Descartes seriously in his assertion that he did not seek to undermine orthodoxy, but venerated religion and hoped assuredly to be saved by it. But when we read the statement that as Descartes' theories were spread abroad *tout le monde se faisait cartésien*—Rostand, who never neglects a hint, makes Cyrano read Descartes in the trenches—we may take it to mean that everyone endeavoured to 'conduct their thoughts' according to the method which Descartes had proclaimed.

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Broadly stated his principles, after sources of error have been removed, are these. Just as all geometry is built up on a sequence of propositions derived one from the other, forming an ever growing chain of reasonings, so thought should be arranged in a similar sequence, and *Donc* should be the master word of reasoning. Neither Rabelais nor Montaigne show in any way that this reasoning faculty is the *qualité maîtresse* of the French people. Rabelais² concerns himself rather with plans and projects: creator-like he says 'Let there be light', but in reality his erections are made of the stones of institutions which he has demolished. The building of Thelème actually existed, and its constitution is in accordance with the spirit of his time. The future age will have no use for such an institution. Montaigne with Bacon gets as far as analysis. He is concerned with phenomena or what he conceives to be such, but Montaigne only starts the exploration of the field of reality, he does not, as does Descartes, find a path across it. The contemporaries of Descartes recognized him as their intellectual Evangelist, and heard the word gladly. Then first could be said with some truth of the Frenchman, that which Taine had claimed for him in the 11th century, "*Il passe sa vie et emploie sa force à concevoir un événement ou un objet . . . tout son mouvement n'est jamais qu'une suite de ces pas joints bout à bout*", and surely it is this art of joining his conceptions *bout à bout*, which Descartes inculcates, which Taine develops as follows:—

"*Il faut, pour qu'il comprenne, que la seconde idée soit contiguë à la première, sinon il est dérouté et s'arrête. . . . sans étude et de prime abord, il désarticule et désarticule et décompose l'objet ou l'événement tout compliqué, tout embrouillé, quel qu'il soit et pose une à une les pièces à la suite des autres en file, suivant leurs liaisons naturelles.*"

Whether Taine is justified in his attempt to prove this by a few quotations from La Chanson de Roland may be open to question, but we must admit that this faculty is a French fac-

²This on the constructive side: destructively or critically he had assailed the old method of thought, cf. the argument of Panurge of Pantegriél and the great *serai-je cocu*.

ulty, alien to a certain degree to our national temperament: Field Marshal Haig doubtless says with Newton *hypotheses non fingo*, and fidgets over Foch's³ formula B, or formula D: the French detective we are told starting from the criminal's known actions and movements seeks to reconstitute the crime step by step, whereas Scotland Yard, clinging to facts even if they be but boot laces, pins its faith on the clue, i.e. the analysis of the given.

It will be noticed that in carrying out Descartes' method of conducting one's thoughts in any particular piece of reasoning, the problem, the difficulty is this—to know how to arrange the links in your chain, that is to say, to recognize the order. According to Taine the Frenchman always recognizes the contiguous idea and so one by one is able to join his ideas up *suivant leurs liaisons naturelles*; in other words, he has the power of putting two and two together, and Descartes himself says that disappointed in the results of scholars, and the conclusions of learning, it was among ordinary folk occupied with their ordinary business, whose success in that business would depend on the justness of their reasoning, that he sought his principles, and derived his *enchaînement des idées*. It was then as a development of Cartesianism that Order became supreme in seventeenth century France,

“Order is heaven's first law,”

as Pope says, though applying the doctrine to a different object. Order again is the point on which Buffon seizes in his famous Discourse on style, in which he lays down the Canon of Rhetoric. *Le style n'est que l'ordre et le mouvement dans les pensées*. By style he does not mean what often we mean by style, the mannerism or accident of the individual writer, but the correct way of writing, that is to say the one and only way, the Royal way. And when he says that it is order and movement or advancement in one's thoughts, what he means evidently is how to attain that *enchaînement des idées* which Descartes has made the law.

³Foch himself is evidently cartesian. “He decides the most intricate matters by resolving them into their component parts,” says Charles Dawbarr.

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"The first necessity, says Buffon, is a plan. You must mark out your subject and divide it into its several heads, arranging them in order of connexion. Then the minor detail will slip into its place, minor connexions will reveal themselves, and thought move straight to its appointed end."

Thus Buffon having prescribed order as the one canon of style set the seal on that classicism, which though at its zenith in France was also entering on its first decline. Cartesianism however remained from that day to this as the instinctive canon of French thought. The Frenchman examines every fact he encounters, assigns for it a reason, perhaps infers a result and passes on. If he be of the line of Voltaire, as happens often enough, the process may occasion a shrug, a serio-comic smile at *ce que c'est que notre pauvre humanité*. The habit is doubtless often abused but its possession at any rate implies that the Frenchman is incessantly investigating the question of relation apart from which all phenomena are meaningless and dead.

The question naturally arises whether Descartes having strewn the way and the French being what they are, there did not arise some giant of constructive thought. The answer cannot be given in the affirmative, although there were indeed giants in those days first in the field of action and afterwards in that of thought. Three figures however rise up whom it is necessary to discuss in this connexion, two who will give an answer in part positive, the third negative or neutral.

The first is Richelieu. Here it is a question not of influence but of parallel development. Nearly contemporary with Descartes, he exhibits in the field of action something of that breadth of view, of that new level of intelligence which Descartes reveals in the field of the mind. His policy naturally suggests Machiavelli, who Morley tells us is still the textbook of much of our policies, and he invites comparison with Machiavelli's disciples, Thomas Cromwell and Strafford. But there is this difference between Richelieu and the others. In methods he may be equally unscrupulous, but his aims are broader and higher. He after all was a minister, a statesman, not the creature of a king, and so in spite of himself he built better than he knew. He prepared the way for the Grand

Monarque, but he also created the state. His aim was a realm where the king should rule, whereas in the wisest of Machiavelli's counsels there is a suggestion of meanness, the mental meanness of the criminal or the pure self-seeker. In tactics, in the details of his policy he was as capable as in his general conception. He also may be said to have solved his difficulties by dividing them. He subdued the factiousness of towns, who were dividing authority with the king. He cut the ground from under the nobles who had been the old source of disorder. Although he accepted the current fallacies in finance, he applied his talents as systematically in developing commerce, industry, markets and colonies as in the more usual channels of statesmanship. If not a disciple of Descartes, he undoubtedly more than they all *se faisait cartésien*. Moreover, a student of letters and art did he not reproach Corneille with lack of *l'esprit de suite*, which we may say is another form of cartesianism?

Bossuet, prelate and preacher, court chaplain and ecclesiastical statesman, less profound but of a broader mind than Pascal his great compeer, marked too with the sincerity of a dedicated life, also comes into our purview as one who in part was cartesian and who also makes a mark on French life. Bossuet was not ahead of his time. He merely in the most ample fashion comprehended his time and was able to exercise in the service of his calling the powers of thought which that time had developed. He reasoned in the modern way of Descartes accepting that reasoning in so far as it supplemented the old scholastic mode of thought, but he was yet in the tradition of S. Thomas Aquin, in that he made this the basis of his reasoning, that his premises must square absolutely with the truths of revealed religion. A humble manner this as of "one who refrains his soul and keeps it low," but at the same time one which he uses with remarkable effect in his Discourse on Universal History, and equally in his temperate, courteous reasoning with Calvinists.¹

¹No better summary of him can be given than that of Lanson:—

La qualité éminent de son esprit c'est-le bon sens l'amour et le discernement du vrai. Il n'a pas évidemment la liberté critique d'un savant

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Bossuet we may say then represents the central mind, le bon sens. All through his life he comes in contact with extremists whether Jansenists or their foes, whether quietists or calvinists, and accepting what reason they have on their side, he is still able to lay his finger on their weaknesses. If in action he had been a stronger and more independent man, if perhaps he had been simple Bishop, and not Court Prelate and Royal tutor, he might have made a greater mark on his day, for just as it is Bossuet who retains the universal respect of posterity, Catholic or non-Catholic, so too he might have dug a channel by which French thought in the eighteenth century would have remained orthodox. He could have been one of those honnêtes hommes who move in Molière's backgrounds. So long as he was there, there was less need for a Voltaire, and a Rousseau would not have been possible. Perhaps he had not suffered enough, or was even not capable of suffering, to bring out all his force, to make him one who spent himself in seeking to mould his time

Such a one was Pascal. His great and incomplete effort was to stem and turn that tendency of French thought which he intuitively anticipated and divined. To complete the task was beyond his strength, beyond even his power of expression, and he was the greatest of literary artists, beyond his wit, and for penetrating intellect he stood above everyone, high enough to see far into the future, to plunge into the unknown, beyond

de nos jours: sa raison est soumise à la foi. Mais d'abord cette soumission n'est pas une abdication, elle est volontaire et sans violence: la raison y trouve son compte. Pour Bossuet tout est obscur douteux et fragile sans la foi: par la foi l'univers, la vie la moral deviennent intelligible; de la foi sortent la clarté, la certitude. Il faut que la raison renonce à rien savoir, à rien comprendre, ou bien qu'elle accepte ces dogmes qui la dépassent, et qui sont la condition de toute connaissance, la source de toute intelligibilité. . . .

Bossuet semble tout prendre de l'Ecriture et de la tradition de l'Eglise: en fait, aucune réalité vivante, aucune vérité manifeste n'a été volontairement négligée par lui; ce prêtre s'est noué des inventions de la raison profane et même païenne . . . en un mot avec une entière sincérité, mais aussi avec une rare adresse il fait entrer dans le système de la religion toutes les vérités acquises depuis des siècles par la raison laïque."

his power of systematic thought, and he was first and foremost geometrician, logician, reasoner. His self-appointed task was this. In spite of the age of shallow devotion, the cheap conversion of the king and court, the spirit of Pecksniff, of Fals-Semblant or of Tartufe, call it which you will, Pascal saw that what was coming was an age of infidelity, of Libertinism, or free-thinking as we should say now, of the scoffing scepticism of Voltaire, and that this would lead to French thought becoming material, 'scientific,' ignoring the *sub specie aeternitatis*, or like Rousseau creating God in his own image, creating his own moral, one of theory rather than conduct. This tendency Pascal set himself to defeat and he failed in his object. He belonged to that austere sect of the Jansenists, the followers of Jansenius, on whose bleak bishopric of Ypres some waft of the cold wind of Calvinism had blown down from the north, but who still regarded themselves as the centre party of Catholicism, and attacked ferociously the Jesuits with their apparent easy-going standards of right and wrong. Pascal himself sought to crown his pious fervor, his mystic ecstatic life, and bring his philosophical and scientific powers to the service of religion, thus at the same time justifying his orthodoxy and setting the seal on his beliefs, in an elaborate Apology for the Christian religion. His plan exists, and the partial and fragmentary volumes of *Les Pensées*, where reasoned argument, fervid appeal, vivid imagery are mixed up with fragments of asides, some preserved apparently by accident, others suggesting the agitation and internal doubt as to himself and the line he was taking, (If I am condemned at Rome . . .). He died with the work incomplete. Such as it was, for a defence rather of themselves than of Christianity the Jansenists published it. Although shot with the lightnings of inspiration and anticipations of the deepest and greatest discoveries of after time, of the vital problems of modern thought, it has remained not as a great exposition and Apology of Christianity, but as a puzzle and a problem for future ages. Since he had not made himself clear, coherent and whole, the people of clarity refused to take him as a guide. Rather as reasoners they have kept his reasonings for their exercise, and it will be the task of a new Pascal when he arises to remake

the work of Pascal, and thereby bring the main thought of France once more into the way of orthodoxy. For himself, for his individual failure we may say this. Sure of himself, without a doubt that he was entirely right, and his enemies entirely wrong, he undertook to make a shield to hold out before Christianity, which needed no such shield; confident in the signs and token which were a pledge that he, Pascal, was indeed meet to be the shield bearer of the host, he raised that shield up and it proved too heavy for his arm. Savonarola before him, the would-be reformer, with all his self-confidence, had yet the sincerity to pass through his lonely hour on Carmel, where he learned that all he could do for Christ's Church was to die for it an unjust death. Pascal perhaps also gained a glimmering of the fact that as an apologist of Christianity the most he could do was to fail. For fail he did and yet his work remains.

The situation then is this. Descartes has given a certain bent to the French mind, making it *soi-disant* rationalist. Whatever his intention, he has fostered the anti-Christian tendency, by pushing back religion from his scheme of things, making 'will' the great element in the mind. But immediately after Descartes and Corneille, the lawgiver and prophet of the will, after Richelieu the arranger, comes Racine with whom the word is not will but wilfulness, 'wants' or passions as we call them; Molière who questions and criticizes institutions, and with LaFontaine caricatures them. The fact is that 'will' is not enough, is entirely insufficient. What is needed is the decision of the impulses which will decide the will. Pascal had sought unsuccessfully to bring home to the *honnête homme*, if you will, that he needed God, that without God his existence is a misery, that for the sake of his happiness it was better to decide that God did exist, that he must bet,—bet on God,—that was how the matter presented itself to the mirthless mathematician. All the energy of the Jansenists was bent on "pitching this life higher." Bossuet placidly develops his proofs of the workings of Providence, but all to deaf ears and unheeding minds. Just as the rigid authority of the state of the Grand Monarque crumbles away so crumbles the orthodoxy of the main body of intelligent French life.

The successive surges of the tide of reaction are well known. They culminate in the master mind of Rousseau. Since Descartes France had waited for, had groped for a motif. He it was who supplied it. But in Rousseau it is as much the old as the new which is evident, for it is Rousseau who tardily gives the answer to that question, 'what Frenchman brings forth work worthy of the spirit which Descartes had sown'? This way which Descartes had revealed, Taine somewhere calls a dangerous faculty, for with it one can reason for ever of everything or nothing.

So Rousseau would seem to have found when, with his fertile ingenuity and originality, which untrained had resulted only in an opera half written and a musical system half thought out, he began to frequent the libraries and the company of the Encyclopaedists.

They had an enthusiasm for all knowledge, the zeal of the student and the will to work of Descartes' type and exemplar. Rousseau was a genius, a mark of whom is to plunder in all fields and assimilate at will. Of their learning he took nothing, except what interested him, of that just sufficient and no more. Of their enthusiasm he took the essence, and knew how to apply it to just the one purpose he needed. What material did he contribute himself? As with Descartes his own observations, his own experiences in his own *corpus vile*. Proud, uncouth, but with a charm especially for women, which reminds one of Burns, he encountered society and felt that he was froissé. The occasion given, he retorts on society with the paradox that society has corrupted the world, that the mass of individuals has spoiled the individual. This text he follows unerringly and directly through all its consequences. He applies with ease and with a new masterliness the method of the day, but follows it from a great principle to a great conclusion because genius with him is not the infinite capacity for taking pains—he unlike the general can select his battle-field—but rather, as said Mme. de Staël, the enthusiasm which concentrates on an interest, as a wolf concentrates on his hunting, as a bee concentrates on her honey

He only repeats himself in the *Discours sur l'inégalité*, and in *Le Contrat Social*, but what he has done is this, not

merely to propound paradoxes, but to show French people how to discover a hypothesis, and the hypotheses which he unearths are due to his own elemental feelings.

As artist he is the perfecter of sensibilité, of romance; as philosopher he is the perfecter of the hypothesis, and hypothesis is romance in philosophy.

What is the secret of his glamour and his power? Why should he be accepted as an authority on education, on art, on political science, and why not on music? There at any rate he was least the amateur! Medicine, strategy, law—you require the authorities on these matters to be experts, to have first-hand and thorough knowledge of their subjects, to have practiced their art or craft themselves, but Rousseau, of all people, is accepted as an authority on education, he who disowned his own children without compunction for them or their mother his *ménagère*: one does not speculate as to what would have been his fate had he ever formed and taught a school. He is accepted as a dogmatist on social politics, who was a poor citizen, acceptable to no country and passing most of his life as a parasite.

The reason as has been suggested is this. By his literary genius, his power of expression, he first was able *to formulate and express a hypothesis* to conduct that series of reasoned, connected statements which was the vulgar notion of cartesianism, and he imposed on his world by the brilliance of his first ideas and his triumphant march through fact. Descartes sought his instances in exact sciences, in Harvey's Circulation Theory, in his Theory of Vortices. Rousseau sought his in the world at large, and he succeeded apparently *à frayer un chemin* through that uncharted country, because that chemin was theoretical and verbal.

Descartes himself had renounced the task of formulating or illustrating his rules from life or from mankind. Doubtless had he been living he would have submitted Rousseau to the tests of his preliminary warnings against error. Voltaire put his finger at once on his weakness, exposing him as pure theorist. 'You would persuade me to get down on all fours, but that my years and my health forbid me such a position.' He might have come closer.

'When mankind reached a time,' says Rousseau in the *Contr. Soc.*, when the forces of nature were too much for him, and he must find a new arm or cease to exist . . . "But how had he so far progressed when he was fighting all the time a losing battle?" Voltaire might comment. "The forces of nature were there all the time and should have nipped him in the bud," and one can imagine how Rousseau would have been driven to elaborate and blur his theoretical portrait. Voltaire, however, contented himself with his neat little dart about *quatre pattes*, and so passed into the ranks of Rousseau's persecutors. So too it would seem he rose from the perusal of Bossuet's *discours sur l'histoire universelle* with the jest about this being the best of all possible worlds. And yet the spirit of Rousseau has triumphed over the spirit of Voltaire, up to Marie Antoinette at le petit Trianon, tout le monde se faisait Rousseauiste, and in great part have remained so. But the Voltaire spirit, the critical spirit is not dead. From Rousseau came the theorists, first of the Revolution, Robespierre, with Pikes and Terror. Then the theorists, in art and literature Hugo, in history Thierry, Michelet, in philosophy Taine, Comte, each with his theory good for a while but gradually attenuated and set aside. And that is it; on each theory as it is set forth the French critical faculty throws itself, often with the old national verve and satire. Theories go down and others arise, but this at length becomes apparent: they have their use if one recognizes them as merely working hypotheses. 'You must find the way, says Descartes in substance, 'to conduct your thoughts on the analogy of geometrical reasoning.' With full confidence when modern science was in what we now recognize to be its lusty infancy but what seemed then its fixed maturity, Taine proclaimed that one could apply the principles of physical science to history, to art, to literature, and finally to psychology.

But the exact sciences as elsewhere have reacted on French thought sobering it and making it less sure of itself. In Britain they have taught us to think systematically instead of confining ourselves to the particular, so that now we have scientific treatises on golf and cricket instead of the old rule of thumb, 'Keep your eye on the ball,' or 'Play forward on a

hard wicket, play back on a slow,' which were once the Law and the Prophets.

This training of the exact sciences is the most notable feature in modern France. One sees its result in history, for example, as much as in the work of the Curies, as equally in more material things it has perfected the automobile, the aeroplane, the 75. Outstanding figures do not so easily arise in these days, when the level is so high but time doubtless will bring them.

What one awaits the most impatiently however is the reunion in France of the mind and the soul. Since Rousseau repeated and propagated the pernicious Rabelaisian doctrine of the goodness of man, all has not been well in the land of the pioneers of humanity. Doubtless there are forty thousand that have not bowed the knee to Baal. *Nous avons à refaire tout*, said to the writer a venerable lady whose own father and mother had been the shining lights of the cultured Liberalism and philanthropy of their day, and without any inclining to the common slanders of France one has the feeling they have first to remake themselves.

Readers of Jean Christophe learn with some dismay, that in France Materialism and Commercialism are as rampant as elsewhere, that the American Press was first the French Press. There are times when one gets indignant with minorities and turns indignantly on societies such as the League of the Rights of Man to ask, 'How can you suffer your peasants to remain so much peasants? You have taken away their faith, what have you given in its place? You are few but how is it you never have some midnight march such as that of Gideon's men?

But this is not the moment it will be said to rail at France, 'France the white, the flaming, the splendid!' as our neighbours across the line were calling her, the France of Joffre and Foch, of the *poilu*, the common Frenchman who at Verdun 'stood fast,' as fast as ever did any Gordon. No not to rail, but France and we are now well nigh one, after four years' fellowship in arms, and French must put up with some of our family "grousing," as from the first we have had to accept, and accepted, France's plain speaking. French criticism will wither up our Anglo-Saxon hypocrisy, puritanical or

otherwise, in a single night. Something will happen, some look, some word, and we will discard it for ever—it was the French-trained Thackeray who wrote in vain his book of Snobs, who in Mme. de Florac gave the first sympathetic sketch or suggestion—it is no more—of a good French character. And we, with our Low-German virtues, we have something to tell the French. “The last button of the last gaiter”¹—all that is contained in that phrase, are still to be provided. Practice still waits on theory. And yet criticism, self-correction we are told is the incessant French ideal, as with the *nil admirari* of our intellectual aristocrats it is ours as well. But the defect in that self-criticism is this. Scarcely any mention has been made in this paper of Molière, of Voltaire. The omission was designed. The chosen figures have been the constructive figures in French thought. And the constructive side of the French spirit is incessantly attacked by a destructive criticism which is satirical. That mocking spirit of the old Gaulish folk is at bottom useless. It only chills and destroys, makes an excuse for fainéantism and a gesture of despair—the moue. What France needs is a further working in and blending of her two antitheses of action and criticism. The doers, the Pascal, the Descartes, the Rousseau, are too serious, the critics are too quizzical, the Voltairean. Aristophanes may raise the laugh, but Socrates, Pericles were the greater men.

There is a picture in Paris by Puvis de Chavannes which represents with Whistlerian chasteness, Ste. Gèneviève watching over sleeping Paris, the patroness grave, silent and vigilant gazing over a rampart at her client city. As she looks down now on that strange fascinating city, with the beauty of medievalism and the grace of modern art, the sumptuousness of wealth and fashion, the pride and lust of life, and as she sees the tide of life surging through its glittering streets, tragically thinned by a million men wanting, what future does she see for her city and its land? Will the strong ones come again, all those ‘who so loved France,’ to borrow Napo-

¹A writer in the *Revue de Deux Mondes* boasts that the French view of ‘not troubling’ calls forth their virtue of improvising—a dangerous doctrine this.

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leon's hollow phrase, and in their love will they join hands together, put aside their old intransigences, learn of one another, Pascal, Bossuet, the Cardinal, Cyrano, Briand, Clemenceau, Hugo, Voltaire, to build again and better than before?

Then will Hugo's magnificent rhetoric ring true:

O L'avenir, L'Avenir!
Jeunes Français jeunes amis,
Un siècle pur et pacifique
S'ouvre à vos pas mieux affermis.
Chaque jour aura sa conquête,
Depuis la base jusqu'au faite
Nous verrons avec majesté,
L'irrésistible Liberté.

W. M. CONACHER.

CALVIN'S ORDER FOR MORNING SERVICE

TO Calvin the Presbyterian Church owes not only its creed and its form of government, but also its form of worship. He was the founder or framer of its Theology, of its Polity, and of its Ritual. Farel, who preceded him at Geneva, had swept away the whole order of the Roman Church, but had put nothing in its place. The sermon stood forth in almost utter nakedness and isolation. The worship, if indeed the maimed rites of these days can be called worship, consisted of the Apostles' Creed and Ten Commandments sung by the people, and the Lord's Prayer repeated by Farel before beginning his sermon, with, occasionally, a brief extemporaneous prayer. As yet there was neither Prayer Book nor Psalm Book.

Unlike Farel, Calvin was eminently qualified for the work of framing a Liturgy for his church. His moderation, his familiarity with liturgical history and the most spiritual forms of the ancient church, and a fearless originality markedly evident in all his writings—his gifts natural and acquired—fitted him in the highest degree for the hard task of drawing up a service book suited to the Reformed religion.

His moderation and sense of the fitness of things prompted him to retain the best elements in the forms of the old church, such as the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed: while the *Nunc Dimittis*,¹ the *Magnificat*,² and the *Te Deum* were retained in a metrical form. He was, too, favourable to the rite of confirmation, for which many still think there is room. "We should like to see," he says, "that rite everywhere restored by which the young are presented to God, after giving forth a confession of their faith." He would also have found a place in his Genevan Book, as he had in his Strasburg Liturgy, for a form of absolution, or declaration of forgiveness,

¹*Nunc demittis servum tuum, Domine.* (Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace), from the Vulgate, Luke II, 29.

²*Magnificat anima mea Dominum.* (My soul doth magnify the Lord), from the Vulgate, Luke I, 46.

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had circumstances allowed. There is none of us," he declares, "but must acknowledge it to be very useful that after the General Confession some striking promise of Scripture should follow, whereby sinners might be raised to the hopes of pardon and reconciliation. And I would have introduced this custom from the beginning, but some feared that the novelty of it would give offence. I was over-easy in yielding to them, so the thing was omitted, and now it would not be seasonable to make any change, because the greatest part of our people begin to rise up* before we come to the end of the Confession."

Trained from very early years for the Roman priesthood, he added to his moderation a wide knowledge of those liturgical forms in which the piety of an earlier age had sought to express itself, and an ability to use that sonorous majesty in which the ancient church had poured forth its praises and its prayers. The most of his prayers which have come down to us are distinguished by spirituality of feeling and sublimity of style.

The fearless originality with which he dealt with all knowledge that passed through his mind is seen also in the form he gave his Liturgy. No ancient Liturgy begins with Confession as Calvin's does. Such a beginning was something new in the history of Christian worship. But it is no longer new. The Church of England adopted this beginning at the suggestion of the Continental Reformers, and after Presbyterian models. The first prayer book of Edward VI begins the service for the Lord's Day with the Lord's Prayer. The Sentences, the Exhortation, the Confession are in accordance with Presbyterian usage—and indeed after the model of Calvin's Strasburg Liturgy, which Pollanus had carried over to England for the use of his flock at Glastonbury, and which Cranmer and his colleagues in their revision of the Prayer Book had before them. A return to this seemly usage might well be made by the Church in Canada—the prevailing custom of beginning divine service by singing the Doxology being not only destitute of liturgical authority, but ridiculous, forming really an anti-climax.

* (That is, from their knees).

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The opening rubric of Calvin's order for public worship on Sunday morning is full of significance. It is as follows:—

On week days the Minister uses such words in prayer as may seem to him good, suiting his prayer to the occasion, and the matter whereof he treats in preaching.

For the Lord's Day in the morning is commonly used the form ensuing. After the reading of the appointed chapters of Holy Scripture, the Ten Commandments are read. Then the Minister begins thus——. Here follow the prescribed forms of which we shall speak presently.

The words of this rubric show to us that Calvin intended there should be no deviation from those forms of prayer which were prescribed. In his view the Liturgy belonged to the people—not to the minister to do with as he liked. The use of forms he defends in a letter to the English Protector in the reign of Edward VI. "I highly approve of it that there be a certain form from which the minister be not allowed to vary: that first some provision be made to help the simplicity and unskilfulness of some: secondly that the consent and harmony of the churches one with another may appear: and lastly that the capricious giddiness and levity of such as affect innovations may be prevented. To which end I have showed that a catechism will be very useful. Therefore there ought to be a stated catechism, a stated form of prayer, and administration of the sacraments."

While Calvin held that there should be no deviation from those prayers whose form was prescribed, he made provision for extempore prayer in his daily office, as the words of the rubric make clear, and also in the prayer before the sermon in the Order for the Lord's Day.

The rubric also refers to an introductory service in which are read the appointed chapters of Holy Scripture and the Ten Commandments. This preliminary service was universal in the Reformed Churches. One of the results of the abolition of the Reader by the Westminster Assembly was, that in Scotland there was no public reading of the Scriptures for about a century and a half, the ministers after as before Westminster refusing to have anything to do with the Reader's service.

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According to Calvin's order the service proper is to begin with this

Invocation.

Our help is in the name of the Lord Who made Heaven and earth. Amen.

Next follows

The Exhortation

Brethren, let each of you present himself before the Lord with confession of his sins and offences, following in heart my words.

The General Confession.

Following the Confession is the rubric:

This done, shall be sung in the congregation a Psalm: then the Minister shall begin afresh to pray, asking of God the grace of His Holy Spirit, to the end that His Word may be faithfully expounded, to the honour of His name and to the edification of the Church: and that it be received in such humility and obedience as are becoming. The form thereof is at the discretion of the Minister.

The singing of a psalm followed the Confession—of a psalm, because at the time the Genevan Liturgy was composed suitable humns did not exist in the French language.

Calvin rejected audible responses without musical expression as disturbing, rather than awakening devotion. The Psalms are the responsive part of his Liturgy. They were written, not to be read, but to be sung, and sung, in many cases, responsively. In them the voice of the church might be raised aloft in a great burst of adoration and thanksgiving. Moreover, without such an uplifting and glorious response as was afforded by this most ancient book of praise the service would have been incomplete—wanting in the chiefest element of divine worship—the voice of joy and praise. The prayers are wanting in these elements. We have in them the offices of intercession and supplication; but no praise. They were followed silently or in subdued tones by the people, who only found their voice, and the voice of praise, in the psalms. In Calvin's Liturgy the psalms constitute the response of the people to the divine message.

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Following

The Praise in Psalm Prayer

is a

whose form was at the discretion of the Minister.

There is no prescribed form for this prayer in the Liturgy, but the following prayer is found at the beginning of several of Calvin's sermons, entitled:

Prayer for God's blessing on the Preached Word.

Most gracious God, our Heavenly Father, in Whom alone dwelleth all fulness of light and wisdom, illuminate our minds, we beseech Thee, by Thy Holy Spirit, in the true understanding of Thy Word. Give us grace that we may receive it with reverence and humility unfeigned. May it lead us to put our whole trust in Thee alone: and so to serve and honour Thee that we may glorify Thy holy name, and edify our neighbours by a good example. And since it hath pleased Thee to number us among Thy people, O help us to pay Thee the love and homage that we owe as children to our Father, and as servants to our Lord. We ask this for the sake of our Master and Saviour, who hath taught us to pray, saying, Our Father which art in Heaven, etc.

The Lord's Prayer

which was probably not repeated after the intercessions when said here.

The next rubric reads:

At the end of

The Sermon;

the Minister having made exhortation to prayer beginneth thus:

Then follow

The Intercessions

whose forms are prescribed. The intercessions are made in the following order:—for rulers and subjects: for pastors and churches: for all conditions of men: for the afflicted: for persecuted Christians: for the congregation.

The Lord's Prayer The Apostles' Creed

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always professed to God in the frame-work of a prayer, being prefaced by the words—Lord, increase our faith::

The Blessing

which, so reads the concluding rubric, is pronounced at the departure of the people, according as our Lord hath commanded in the Law, Numbers vi, 23,

The Lord bless thee and keep thee:

The Lord make His face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee:

The Lord lift up His countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.

Whereunto is added, to remind the people of the duty of almsgiving, as it is customary upon leaving the church:

Depart in peace: remember the poor: and the God of peace go with you. Amen.

It was said at the beginning that Calvin was the father of our worship. To many familiar only with the somewhat maimed rites that exist among us this may not be very evident. But Calvin's Genevan Liturgy was the parent of all the Reformed Liturgies, including Knox's Common Order used in Scotland for about eighty years, and used in St. Giles' for the last time on that memorable Sunday in July, 1637, when later on in the day Laud's Liturgy was read for the first time, occasioning a riot of which all the world knows. But Scottish worship suffered more at the hands of English Sectaries than from English Prelatists. Under their malign influence some of the seemly usages of the Reformers, such as the use of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer were denounced as "nocent ceremonies," the Lord's Prayer being dubbed by one enthusiastic bigot a threadbare prayer. The Westminster Directory loyally though not eagerly accepted by the Scottish Church, when read with a knowledge of the history of the times, bears evidences of the bitterness of the conflict raised by the Sectaries as do also certain Acts of the General Assembly. But, notwithstanding the changes introduced by the Directory, and the mutilations of the Protesters from which our worship still suffers, our ritual is the creation of Calvin. We do not claim

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perfection for his Liturgy any more than we do for the Westminster Directory. A fundamental merit of both is that they are founded, not on expediency, not on what it was thought would make an "attractive" service, not on any meretricious allurements that might draw the crowd, but on certain great fundamental principles to which we must get back if we would give our worship significance as a full expression of the faith and teaching of the church.

T. B. McCORKINDALE, M.A.

Deseronto.

JOHN MASEFIELD.

In one of his best poems, *Biography*, Mr. Masefield says,

When I am buried, all my thoughts and acts
Will be reduced to lists of dates and facts,
And long before this wandering flesh is rotten
The dates which made me will be all forgotten,

and, in his personal recollections of Synge, "his life, like that of any other artist, was dated not by events but by sensations. I know no more of his significant days than the rest of the world." Any critic of Masefield must begin with a similar confession. For these are not chance expressions of his. The thought they contain, or rather the experience behind the thought, is found many times in his works. Sometimes he sets it down in lyrical or narrative verse; elsewhere it asserts itself in spite of him. It gives us a clue to his peculiar power and more than a clue to the pitfalls into which he has sometimes stumbled.

Masefield, it would appear, is haunted persistently by the recollection of beauty coming upon his spirit as a thing vouchsafed, scarcely to be sought, never to be analysed. It comes to him with the revelation of God as it came to Saul Kane in *The Everlasting Mercy* when "the bolted door" was "broken in" and he went forth to behold the "spiritual ploughman" "patient on the hill." It is a kindred mood that he invokes as a creative artist at the end of the poem in the symbol of the lily,

Spring in my heart agen
That I may flower to men.

If there is any binding theme in his more recent sonnets it is the same pre-occupation with revealed beauty, something which comes and goes, visits and eludes, an affair of moments.
We read

For this my body with its wandering ghost
Is nothing solely but an empty grange,
Dark in a night that owls inhabit most,
Yet when the king rides by there comes a change,

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and in another place

One hour, or two, or three, in long years scattered,
Sparks from a smithy that have fired a thatch,
Are all that life has given and all that mattered,
The rest, all heaving at a moveless latch.

Broadly speaking, this is part of an experience and a problem common to all who are truly poets, as, indeed, to all who are truly capable of appreciating poetry. It is simply the primal wonder which sets poets on their road. If no more were to be said of it in Masefield's case we would do better to pass on, as we usually do with other poets, to find out where the primal wonder has led him.

But there are at least two things to be said: first, that Masefield's perception of the beautiful is uncommon, singling him out even among poets; secondly, that instead of modifying itself under the intellectual process of maturity it persists in its most elementary form.

To bring out the uncommonness I shall fall back on that grammar-book of poetic sensations, *The Prelude* of Wordsworth, himself, as Mr. A. C. Bradley says, the poet of strange experience. Those early visitations of Wordsworth's during "fits of vulgar joy" and "giddy bliss", due sometimes to "chance collisions and quaint accidents" and described by him unforgettably as "gleams like the flashing of a shield" were rare moments even for him. They point to a state of consciousness which is hardly characteristic of him in his maturity. Something akin to them recurs as late as 1818 in the lines *Composed upon an Evening of Extraordinary Splendour and Beauty* in which we read "Wings at my shoulders seem to play" and then "'Tis past, the visionary splendour fades", but this is an isolated poem. From such fleeting experiences as these to the steady contemplation of the daisy or of sleeping London or of the Highland reaper there is no direct line of development. These, the truly Wordsworthian poems, must rather be traced back to those "other pleasures" and "joys of subtler origin", "those hallowed and pure motions of the sense," which Wordsworth seems to acknowledge alongside of his more excited moods.

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It is enough for the present purpose to infer that this initial sensation in poets can range between widely separate limits, both of which Wordsworth seems to have approached in early years. To mark those limits philosophy might prefer the terms "transcendental" and "immanent", but these suggest rather the probable tendency of the two divergent moods than their necessary condition. Literature finds it more convenient to point to instances of both extremes and say "There is the difference." In the one the sense of beauty is intermittent, in the other pervasive. The one leads to contrasts and movement, the other to unity of tone and repose.

But there is no need to define them more precisely than Wordsworth did. Whatever we agree to call it, Masefield's is the first case. Whilst he cannot at any point be identified with Wordsworth, his primary experience can best be defined by comparison with those flashings of a shield, bursting in with an almost physical surprise on the active senses. So it is in two memorable prose sketches in the *Tarpaulin Muster* (1907), "A White Night," when "the rhythm of rowing" had taken him "beyond himself" and "A Memory" where he watches the action of a sailing vessel at dawn. *The Everlasting Mercy* stands or falls by the reader's acceptance of this abrupt mood. It is not the conversion alone that has to be reckoned with. The whole poem is constructed on a series of lesser alternations in a like spirit. The poetic interludes between the boxing and the carousing and the haranguing, whether false or sound, are temperamentally bound up with those elementary sensations that Wordsworth felt as flashings of a shield. The dross and the noble metal of life are seen in strata, not blended. The poems *Biography* and *Ships* are catalogues of the poet's memories compiled breathlessly from "Time, the ever-swift." "Golden instants," "glittering moments", "bright memories", these are his own words for them. *The Wanderer*, with its splendid seizure of the same swift feeling,

That wet grass grew in an immortal field,
Those waters fed some never-wrinkled sea,

is simply the expansion of one of the above items. Only rarely,

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as in *August 1914*, does Masefield excel in the quieter personal mood of reflection and elegy.

It is true that this does not prove the uncommonness among poets of Masefield's exciting experience of the beautiful, but it is at least plausible to argue that for one so closely at grips with active, physical life there is something remarkable in this prevailing transcendental mood. Kipling and Shelley are seldom juxtaposed so strikingly as they seem to be here.

The second point, that the mood persists unmodified, or, more carefully stated, that it retains its freshness and brightness in far fuller degree than would be expected after years of literary work, is perhaps more important. As we have seen, the mood can be readily instanced from the earlier personal writings that preceded *The Tragedy of Nan* and it is nowhere more strongly marked than in the intensely subjective sonnets of 1915. Beauty, that "wanderer into many brains", appears here in all her old disguises: a gleam, a hand upon a gate, a voice breaking the silence. Those who with Joseph Conrad cannot relinquish their "sobriety of interior life" and "asceticism of sentiment" will probably be perplexed by this aspect of Masefield's work, but it refuses to be dismissed or overlooked. It touches upon something that lies at the heart of poetry and Masefield forces us to consider it by his very nature, just as Keats does, whose magic Masefield seems to recapture here and there, as in this from the sonnets,

Yet at a dawn before the birds begin,
In dreams, as the horse stamps and the hound stirs,
Sleep slips the bolt and beauty enters in
Crying aloud those hurried words of hers.

There must be differences of opinion as to the merits of these later sonnets but hardly as to the mental condition from which they arose. Whatever process the author's mind may have been submitted to, abstractions have had no part in it. The thought is wholly intuitive and shows no sign of the schooling that comes from ratiocination.

This cannot be said of many of our modern poets, for they have almost all had their intellectual house-cleaning at some time or other, paying a certain price and deriving certain

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advantages, as students are supposed to do in universities. Among contemporaries we find on all hands this point of contact with abstract thought or, at least, with unimaginative reflection. Masfield, an Elizabethan almost for intuitiveness, not only escapes all apprenticeship to the philosophers—in this he is, no doubt, equalled by certain lyrical poets of limited range, like W. H. Davies, and by one or two Irishmen who have “come clear of the nets of wrong and right”—he also retains with extraordinary freshness that initial perceptive gesture of his that we have already tried to examine. It recurs boldly through his works, as a vigorous but disturbing line sometimes recurs in the draughtsmanship of an artist, revealing, as it were, the abrupt contours of his temperament.

It would not be difficult to follow this temperamental gesture into problems of diction and choice of subject. In the less carefully pondered narrative poems, *Dauber* and *The Daffodil Fields*, its misapplication might explain as errors of temperament the pathetic fallacies of the first and the melodrama of the second. It accounts for the author's occasional theosophical utterances as also for his preference for Sir Thomas Browne among English prose writers. It endows him with that “sure suddenness of imagery” in which “he shows himself unsurpassel by anyone now writing” (Mr. C. E. Montague in *Dramatic Values*). It suggests the thought which it would not do to carry too far that each poet has his fundamental mood or integral sensation which, if he could grasp or analyse it, would completely explain the whole of his work.

If there is anything practical to be had from all this preamble it is that Masfield has peculiar difficulties of temperament to control and that in default of ideas and problems the technical supremacy which he establishes over his thronging imagination can be our only guide to a considered appreciation of his work.

His published writings cover a wide field, far wider than is commonly known. His reviewing and editing can be followed in the Synge article in the Dictionary of National Biography, the *Hakluyt* and other travel books in the Everyman Library, the *Shakespeare* in the Home University Library and

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in the files of the daily press. He has collected sea-chanties and written historical books on the Navy. He has written novels and sketches for boys and adults. More recently he has written with terrible power of Gallipoli. As a poet in the narrower sense his output is more limited. It is, broadly stated, a small body of lyrical and personal verse, four narrative poems, and some half-dozen plays in prose and verse.

His fame began with his first full-sized play, *The Tragedy of Nan*, which caused much controversy, and it spread further with his first long narrative poem, *The Everlasting Mercy*, which appeared in *The English Review* in October, 1911, and was crowned by the Royal Society of Literature as the best poem of its year. On this and the verse narratives which followed it in quick succession—*The Daffodil Fields*, the latest,* appeared in February, 1913 — his reputation seems to have turned, particularly in America where *The Tragedy of Nan* was only published a year or two ago.

Considering the four verse narratives together it can easily be seen that *The Everlasting Mercy* is by far the most personal. For once Masefield has selected a subject that adjusts itself naturally to his most violent mood; he must have seen the whole poem as "the flashing of a shield." Approval or disapproval of it is peculiarly an affair of temperament; but it will be hard for those who know England to put out of their minds that picture of a Midland country town, shown up, as it were, by lightning, or for any who have eyes for an early morning ploughman to miss the marvellous realization of a symbol in the closing pages.

If *The Widow in the Bye Street* succeeds, as surely it does, it is again because of the author's choice of subject, but this time with opposite results. The theme is now strictly un-beautiful, the metre new to him and involved; there is no opportunity for purple patches or for irrational digressions. It must have been for Masefield a sheer piece of hard pulling, a test of endurance and restraint which he comes through remarkably well, for whilst there is hardly a false note in the poem he has energy to spare for careful workmanship and

*A fifth long poem *Rosas* is now announced.

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the keen attention to detail never relaxes. Here is a characteristic stanza,

Not finding her, he went into an inn,
Busy with ringing till and scratching matches,
Where thirsty drovers mingled stout with gin
And three or four Welsh herds were singing catches.
The swing-doors clattered, letting in in snatches
The noises of the fair, now low, now loud.
Ern called for beer and glowered at the crowd.

And here are other lines, just as good, but quite different,

On Sunday afternoons the lovers walk
Arm within arm, dressed in their Sunday best,
The man with the blue necktie sucks a stalk,
The woman answers when she is addressed.

What is more important for Masfield's poetic equipment, we find here fully revealed his power of striking out great impersonal lines, one of the testimonies, though not the greatest, of the spontaneous wisdom which makes his mature work so difficult to put aside.

Gain without giving was the craft she plied,
in characterization of Anna, the seductress, gives a foretaste of it. It is at its best in

All the great things of life are swiftly done,
Creation, death, and love the double gate.
However much we dawdle in the sun
We have to hurry at the touch of fate,

and, above all, in the chessboard stanza, ending

Mate, and the King's pawn played, it never ceases
Though all the earth is dust of taken pieces.

The same power is shown in the epilogue to *Pompey the Great*,

Pompey was a great captain, riding among Kings a King,
Now he lies dead on the sand, an old blind, tumbled thing,

which even in its rhymes and phrasings takes us straight back to Shirley's

The glories of our blood and state
Are shadows, not substantial things;

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There is no armor against fate;
Death lays his icy hand on kings;
Sceptre and crown
Must tumble down,

whilst in *The Ship* Masefield seems conscious of a still longer tradition when he writes half-a-dozen riddling stanzas on the Ore, the Trees, the Hemp and Flax, the Workers, the Sailors, and finally the Ship,

By me my wandering tenants clasp the hands
And know the thoughts of men in other lands.

Perhaps it is one of the compensations of a nation which has, we are told, made a virtue of the commonplace that English literature has been so rich in deftly-turned sententious verse, not personal as Goethe's aphorisms are personal, nor yet impersonal enough to be usually proverbial. The Elizabethans had no strict need of these minted phrases in drama as they wrote it and, since they could not help turning them out, either scattered them as tags or heaped them on the shoulders of a pedestrian like Polonius. Pope and Byron carry on or contribute to the tradition in their different ways and Masefield reminds us of both of them if we read him closely. But he has turned the gift to severer account as part of the chorus in his plays.

The plays are *The Tragedy of Nan* (1909) and *The Tragedy of Pompey the Great* (1910) which precede the four narrative poems and, following these, *Philip the King* (1914), *The Faithful* (1915), and *Good Friday* (1915). There are also four early one-act plays and an unpublished translation from the Danish.

In the four longer verse narratives there is a steady decline in psychology and workmanship, readily traceable in *Dauber* and *The Daffodil Fields*. Not so in the plays. There can be little doubt after the preface to *Nan* that Masefield's ideal as a writer is a dramatic one, and it is a fair assumption that some, at least, of the narratives were undertaken as exercises in expression with a view to writing verse drama later on. Certain it is that in the plays he has gone most rigorously to school. It would not be sur-

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prising to find that *Pompey the Great* contained older work than *Nan*, for it alone of all the plays can be charged—as Masfield must have felt when he revised it—with immaturity. All of them, however, are worthy of the closest analysis.

Ideas there are none to analyse. Masfield is satisfied with the simple fact of the spiritual release that attends the contemplation of tragedy. He expresses it variously in his poems,

Life's battle is a conquest for the strong;
The meaning shows in the defeated thing,

or again,

God, moving darkly in men's brains,
Using their passions as his tool,
Brings freedom with a tyrant's chains
And wisdom with the fool.

We are still in touch with the poet's temperament. At its best his characteristic mood, about which so much has been said, is the energetic or dramatic form of spiritual wonder. Masfield, let us assume, has examined the mood in himself and whatever was nearest to it in books and the life about him and found it at its purest and noblest as the outcome of tragedy. Accordingly he does not need to put off his personality to write plays; the step from lyric to drama is for him rather one of supplement and control than of elimination.

The absence of elements strictly intellectual in the plays is the more remarkable when we consider their pedigree. "Like most fine original plays," says Mr. Montague, "Mr. Masfield's *Nan* is of good family; it comes of the stock of Elizabethan pastoral tragedy." This is slightly misleading. It comes like nearly all good twentieth-century drama from the common tradition of Europe, strained through the fine meshes of Ibsen's mind and tinted with the brighter colours of some younger writers. Masfield, like Hauptmann, shows himself restlessly sensitive to what is happening and may happen to drama in our day. And in composing his dramas he shows a breadth and balance of creative power which his other writings do not always reveal. There is therefore a twofold reason for examining them somewhat carefully.

Reluctant to depart from the severe logic of Ibsen and his

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school—a discipline which can be traced even in his least realistic work—Masefield also strives to re-establish as a poetic, not an intellectual, element in his plays the larger impersonal issues, the chorus of the Greeks, the fools and the nature-settings of Shakespeare, or rather whatever corresponds to these in our modern apprehension of those vaguer, muter forces that encompass life and bear upon our actions in times of crisis. The modern perspective of things leads our dramatists to a deliberate arrangement of these enclosing forces as a sort of chorus in the structure of their plays. But there are in our living dramatic tradition no established formal devices for containing them, such as the Greeks had; there is no set pattern for play-writing. Each play must evolve its own form, grouping in a sort of flexible poetic analysis its baffling complex of confused life and unravelled forces. For such reasons as this it is hard to write good plays to-day. Most of our dramatists are overtrained. Even Masefield with his great productive power has written his plays very deliberately and cautiously and their bulk is small.

The more remarkable becomes the tribute we must pay to his inventiveness when we find the impersonal fabric of the plays so variedly and resourcefully woven: the doting fiddler, the tide, and the coach-horn in the third act of *Nan*; the military and nautical choruses naturally introduced in *Pompey the Great*; the crowds off and on stage, Spanish crowds in *Philip the King* with Jubilates and dirges from the monks and sailors, Jewish crowds in *Good Friday* applauding Herod or thronging in Pilate's wake. And in all the plays, but especially in the verse plays, Masefield's great gift of gnomic expression already noted comes to reinforce these choric or semi-choric groups and figures. The case in *Nan* is the best known; it is also the most realistic and consequently the most inextricable.

In the second act *Nan* stands discarded by her lover and by her relatives; the action so far has been of a very simple domestic tragedy. With the entry of Gaffer Pearce, the aged fiddler, something strange and aloof enters the play and stands for a time in odd contrast with it. The gaffer is hardly a character. "'E can fiddle still, th'owd grandfer do; but 'e

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doan't talk, not to strangers." This is his introduction. Nan's beauty stirs something in him, his own sorrow, strangely washed by the rains of sixty years and always at the heart of it something imminent that happened then and will happen now, the harvest moon, the tide sweeping up the Severn, the coach going by with its horn, and beauty passing. It is like an old ballad shaping itself. None heeds him at first, not even Nan whom he addresses. But as the resolution to die ripens in her, at a great moment in the play—those who have seen it well done will probably remember—she leaps into sympathy with him. Her spirit dilates and all that she does now is to be understood accordingly, her punishment of mean-spirited Jenny, her breaking of meats with the gaffer ("We will eat and drink, Gaffer. It be a long road to go"), her murder of Dick Gurvil in the name of "the women crying, the broken women, the women cast aside," and finally her convergence with the Severn flood, for it is rather that than suicide.

The third act of *Nan* must be imagined as an eddy widening until it resolves itself or it must be seen by some other figure that may comprehend all the forces felt to be at work in it, the "moments", in the original sense of the word, that variously determine the action, for they are all taken into account by the dramatist. This was not Shakespeare's way when he set *Folly* and *Tempest* loose in the third act of *King Lear* and left an old man fumbling with his button in the fifth. Mut i tis the modern way and it is dramatically a sound one. It is based on a truer and more intuitive analysis of society and life than has commonly prevailed and it has endless possibilities in it.

In *The Tragedy of Nan* the impersonal elements are gathered to a great climax more subtly than in any other play of its school. When it is read in this light the tragedy is far from being irreconcilable; Nan herself consciously enters into the spiritual dilation that the spectator also experiences. It is the choric principle carried to the extreme of flexibility. The close of *Pompey the Great* is a more Classical case. The last act of this play discloses the poop of a Lesbian merchantman off Pelusium whither Pompey has come to try his luck with Pto-

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lemy. After full preparation Pompey crosses with the fawning envoy to the Egyptian vessels. He is stabbed within sight of his wife, friends, and crew. Immediately the ship cuts cable and the men hoist the sail. The chanty-man lolls against the bulwark intoning his lines; the men are ranged in informal order across the raised poop and haul twice in each chorus; the remaining characters are grouped forward and below them about the mast. But the chanty-man does not sing a sailor's ditty; he voices what he and the sailors and that moment in the play mean to the spectator.

For the gods employ strange means to bring their will to be.
We are in the wise gods' hands and more we cannot see.

The poetic logic of it is unassailable, but the hauling in unison of the sailors, the ship's setting off with its human freightage, the sudden casting of the mind to the horizon with the cry "All clear to seaward," this can only be fully brought out on the stage. *Pompey the Great* is an imperfect play. Masefield is not very sure of his Pompey and the realism is threadbare in places; but the close alone makes the play memorable.

Enough of this phase. Those whom it interests should read for its dramatic values the monologue in *Good Friday* beginning "The wild duck, stringing through the sky," and observe how skilfully it breaks the sense of time, carries on the dramatic action, and expands into commentary. For tact and for resourcefulness this is probably Masefield's high-water mark in poetic drama and it belongs significantly to his most recent play.

The sententious power shown again in *Pompey the Great* reaches its height in *Philip the King* which is with *The Widow in the Bye Street* Masefield's most detached effort. It is simply the story of the Armada seen through Philip's eyes. The structure is that of the *Persae* of Aeschylus, adjusted to the modern stage, and the rhymed lines may owe something to Mr. Gilbert Murray, but it would be hardly possible to call the work "neo-" or "pseudo-," it is too real. Take Philip's

Lord, Thou hast burst this night of many days
With glorious morning,

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when false news comes of a Spanish triumph, and then the true version,

The widows in the seaports fill the streets,
or

The Irish burn our Captain's bones for lime,
and, not least, the superb sea-battle to the rhythm of Drayton's *Agincourt*,—the onset,

Nobly the English line
Trampled the bubbled brine;
We heard the gun-trucks whine
To the taut laniard.
Onwards we saw them forge,
White-billowing at the gorge.
"On, on!" they cried, "St. George!
Down with the Spaniard!"

and then the contest,

The English would not close;
They fought us as they chose,
Dealing us deadly blows
For seven hours.
Lords of our chiefest rank
The bitter billow drank,
For there the English sank
Three ships of ours.

To say that this is the best rendering of the Armada in English poetry is to say too little; it would also suggest unnecessary comparisons. It is strange that such distinguished work can make so quiet an entry. *Philip the King* was acted once at a London matinée "under the most unfavourable circumstances," Mr. William Archer tells us, and "nevertheless made a deep impression." As *Philip* is Masfield's only play which might be suspected of being a book-drama, this means that he has written nothing in dramatic form which is at variance with the theatre.

The motive which led to the writing of *The Faithful* is, as far as can be seen, somewhat external and to that extent it must be ranked also with the more impersonal works. The theme is simple, friendship, fidelity after death, and revenge; but the setting is old Japanese and the psychology is oddly streaked with Elizabethan reminiscences. It seems best to

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regard the play as a deliberate exercise in the school of Gordon Craig and others, itself half Japanese in principle. It would almost appear in this play as if Masefield were overtrained like some of his contemporaries, but it effectually answers those who identify him with high lights and vituperations, for the work is of an excessive refinement both in its prose and in its verse. In some of the wonderfully reticent scenes the colour of a cloak or even the crouched attitude of a body has its full pictorial value against the wintry severity of the background, as in Japanese art.

But even in this technical experiment we can trace the personal psychology with its sudden flashings of a shield. Sometimes it is concentrated and concealed in a word. Asano has been treacherously done to death by his enemy. Kurano, Asano's friend, was prevented from supporting Asano at the critical time by his wife who feigned a serious accident and withdrew her husband from danger. This estranges Kurano from her:

Kurano. You killed Asano, and do not even know what he was.

Lady Kurano. I loved Asano. I loved your friendship with him. I know how you have worked together. I knew his nobleness. But I knew that if he were twenty times as noble he would still not be worth your little finger. You are too generous, Kurano, where you love, and too blind.

Kurano. Asano is blind.

This touches the question of characterization and the personal element in the plays. Here it would be no hard matter to show that whilst Masefield has distinctly succeeded at times with characters that lay below him, like Dick Gurvil, the recreant lover in *Nan*, and Kira, the political adventurer in *The Faithful*, or remote from him, like Pilate and King Philip, he has done his best with more spiritual figures closer to him, Antistia, the serving-woman in *Pompey*, Procula in *Good Friday*, the half-wits, and his greatest creation, *Nan*.

And again, whilst all the plays are historical—for even *Nan*, the youngest in subject, goes back a century to the days when men were hanged for sheep-stealing—the sympathy of *Nan* herself with the modern woman, of *Pompey* and *Asano*

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with certain of our public ideals, the curious relevancy of the play *Philip* to what is happening in Europe now, the simple modern Christianity of *Good Friday*, can escape no one. This modern spirit, even more than the sympathetic treatment of single characters, makes the plays personal in the deepest sense of the word.

The fact that Masfield could essay in *Good Friday* a subject full of pitfalls for anyone and most of all for him and yet avoid disaster shows conclusively that he is beginning to get his personality under easy control. How intense the personal feeling in the plays can be, a single comparison will show. In the poem *C. L. M.* to his mother the movement of feeling from the mother to womankind, the fearful growing sense of public responsibility in

What have I done, or tried, or said
In thanks to that dear woman dead?
Men triumph over women still,
Men trample women's rights at will,
And man's lust roves the world untamed.

O grave, keep shut lest I be shamed,

is one of the most intimately personal things in all his writings. It is exactly of a piece with what Nan goes through when she murders Dick Gurvil. The parallel is most striking and it brings out incidentally the poet's way of touching a problem.

One more personal comparison of a different sort to round out the picture. In the symbol of the ship at the close of *Pompey the Great* and also of *The Daffodil Fields* Masfield used objectively what he had deeply experienced. He tried to reproduce the great liberating power of coming upon a ship journeying and sailors singing in that semi-personal poem *The Wanderer*, where he comes from behind a headland one Christmas Day and suddenly glimpses the sea and the Wanderer, thrice-foiled, anchored in the roadstead, while

Over the water came the lifted song

of Christmas from the sailors. He had touched on this sort of thing before as one of his sudden revelations of beauty and

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he was to tell the same tale yet again, in words that many will read, at a later day when the British transports set off from Mudros for Gallipoli and the "tumult of cheering," he tells us, "went beyond the guard of the English heart" and "those left behind in Mudros trimmed their lamps knowing that they had been for a little brought near to the heart of things" (*Gallipoli*). One feels how inscrutably the appropriate experience must go to the making of poets and to what little purpose we probe and peer and assess.

It is undesirable to attempt to "place" Masefield yet, but it is perhaps not too soon to draw the containing lines of his portrait and to show that his serious writings already yield that illuminating cross-reference and feeling of consequence which only come where the work is strongly organic and, if it be poetry, profoundly spiritual.

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ENGLISH COURTESY LITERATURE BEFORE 1557.

IT would not, at first thought, seem necessary, in a healthy state of society, to define the obvious distinction between manners and morals, but, in the Tudor period, the word 'manners' occasionally usurped so much of the meaning of 'morals', that perhaps it will be well, at the beginning, to make, crudely, a differentiation.¹ To take refuge in negative definition, manners constitute that portion of conduct, the neglect of which is, objectively, an error but not a disgrace. Morals are the fundamental decencies of social conduct, manners, the ornament, in theory, of such conduct. If it be not hair-splitting to distinguish between manners and courtesy, we may say that courtesy is manners raised to the dignity of a system, organized and directed towards the exemplification of a social ideal. Etiquette based on mere negation is heterogeneous and irrational; only a synthesis will fuse it into a mirror of positive conduct. One of the questions we must answer is, whether the literature of manners in Tudor England before Elizabeth, achieved the status of an ideal of courtesy, whether it was motivated by an explicit or a merely instinctive striving after social decency and grace. The material which may assist in a solution, may be conveniently classified according to the audience to which it is addressed, (a) to boys and pages, (b) to girls, (c) to serving-men, and (d) to gentlemen.

By far the largest quantity of the literature of manners is devoted to the training of boys. The mass of detailed advice as to how a boy should behave in any social contingency, persuades one that Tudor boys were especially bad, or their tutors exceedingly preachy.

The most recurrent example of this *genre* is the *Stans Puer ad Mensam*. The phrase suggests a vanished social

¹To illustrate the loose Tudor usage, Alexander Barclay translated (1503) Mancinus' *De Quattuor Virtutibus* as *The Mirrour of Good Manners*. Under our definition, the book is ruled out, for there is nothing but moralizing in it.

usage. The Tudor youth of noble birth often passed a number of years in the house of some courtier or ecclesiastic, and thus got much of his social and intellectual training. A familiar example is Thomas More in the household of Cardinal Morton, and the play-acting episode shows the possibilities of such a relationship for a clever boy and an interested patron. So the page, the *puer* or *babee* is a common social type, and the *Stans Puer* was directed exactly toward his ideal conduct. It is no easy matter to disentangle the derivations and relationships of this poem. It is commonly ascribed to John Lydgate, and Prof. MacCracken attempts to settle doubt as to its authorship by saying, "as Lydgate names himself in the last line, it is hard to see what kind of a case can be made out against his authorship."² Authorship, however, of a poem which exists in nearly parallel versions in both French and Latin, is ticklish of decision. The *Stans Puer* exists in numerous manuscripts, was printed by Caxton once, by Wynkynde Worde in 1518 and 1524, and was adapted for Hugh Rhodes' *Boke of Nurture* (1543). Perhaps the most interesting redaction is in Ashmole Ms 61, leaf 17³, which is fixed at the time of Edward IV, by the fashion of long sleeves with which the King's Statute dealt in 1465. There the poem runs to 33½ eight-line stanzas. The introduction is full of moral precepts: we are told that while the vicious child never thrives, courtesy is sure to pay. Then the boy is instructed not to fidget or stare when his lord is speaking to him, to wash his hands before eating, not to spill things on the tablecloth, to make no noise with his soup, nor fall asleep over his meal, and

"Thy elbow and armys have in thi thought,
To fere on the tabulle do them not ley.
To myche mete at ons in the mouth be no brought;
For than thou art not curtas, thi better will seye.
Kepe wele thi slevys for touchyng off mete
Ne no longe slevys lasyd luke that thou have."⁴

²EETS., ExS., Vol. 107, p. xxviii.

³EETS., ExS., Vol. 8, pp. 56-64.

⁴EETS., ExS., Vol. 8, p. 62, ll. 187-196. Throughout this article, for convenience in printing and reading, the manuscript *yoch* is changed, on occasion, to *y* or *gh*, the *thorn* to *th*, and *u* to *v*.

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The page must take care to honor his father and mother, to walk circumspectly in the street, but not to stare at strangers. Then the poem tells how the courteous lad must serve his lord as he washes, and hold a candle for him while he drinks. Precisely this range of etiquette many more of the tracts of the period cover.

The poem *How the Wise Man Taught his Son* was probably not printed during this period, but it survived in several manuscripts. The most interesting version is in Harleian Ms 5369, dated the thirty-fourth year of Henry VI, i.e. 1456. In this poem the son is told to conduct himself soberly at Mass, to speak no rash word, to avoid taverns, dicing and women, not to laugh loudly, (laughter seemed to our forebears to savour of unseemliness), and not to stay out late o' nights. Then the father advises shrewdly how to select and how to keep a wife, in very un-American terms:

"Ther fore, sone, I byd the,
Wyrche with thy wife, as reson ys;
Thof sche be servant in degre,
In some degre she felaw ys.
Nor, sone, bete nott thy wife, I rede,
For theryn may no help be,
Betyng may not stand yn stede,
But rather make hur to despyse the." ⁵

The father, also, with the staid conservatism of the passing generation, warns his son against the folly of new ways:

"And sonne, if thou be weel at eese,
And warme amonge thi neighboris sitte,
Be not newfangil in no wise
Neither hasti for to chaunge ne flitte,
And if thou do, thou wantist witte
And art unstable on every side,
And also men wole speke of itt,
And seie 'This foole can no where a bide.'" ⁶

A very complete, though not exactly original, page's book is the *Boke of Curtasye*, Sloane Ms 1986, which Mr. Furnivall

⁵Hazlett: *Remains of Early Popular Poetry*, Vol. I, p. 175, ll. 129-132-, ll. 137-140.

⁶EETS., Vol. 33, p. 51, ll. 113-120.

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and Mr. Bond assigned to 1460. The first section deals with the boy's table manners, the second with learning and conduct abroad, and the third, broken into small bits with Latin titles, describes the duties of the officials in a Lord's household. The first part offers nothing new; the second informs the boy what parts of the Church service he should learn, and bids him serve the priest at the altar devoutly, and be forgiving, peaceful, and kind. When among men,

"Leve not alle men that speke the fayre,
Whether that hit ben comyns, burges or mayre."

In strange countries, he should be cautious, he must not laugh at men who fall down, nor speak ill of women, nor be too silent, nor further quarrels between brothers.

"Yf thou shalle on pilgrimage go,
Be not the thryd felaw for wele ne wo;
Thre oxen in plowgh may never wel drawe,
Nothes be craft, ryght ne lawe."⁷

"Also, my chylde, agaynes thy lorde,
Loke thou stryfe with no kyn worde,
Ne wajour non with hym thou lay,
Ne at the dyces with him to play."⁸

Caxton's *Book of Courtesy* is perhaps the most distinguished example of this *genre*. The poem exists in Caxton's edition, in Richard Hill's *Commonplace Book* (Balliol Ms 354), and, with an additional stanza, in Oriel Ms 79. The book begins by saying that as childhood knows not which way to turn, books are to direct it toward virtue. The child of good manners is advised to say the Pater Noster, the Ave, and the Creed, when he rises, and, while he dresses, to repeat Our Lady's Matins. When walking, don't throw stones at the birds; in church, don't chatter. Look men in the face when they speak to you. Then a stanza gives the seven conditions of speaking, several of which are reminiscent of the kindergarten rime which ends

"Of whom you speak, to whom you speak,
And how, and when, and where."

⁷Percy Soc: Vol. 13. ed. J. O. Halliwell, p. 12, ll. 285-8.

⁸Ibid., p. 10, ll. 225-8.

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At table, be companionable, don't slander the absent, don't be ravenous, share your dainties with your companion; chew with your lips closed. Play only proper games, and cultivate graceful accomplishments, for

"It is to a godly chyld wel syttynge,
To use disportes of myrthe and plesance,
To harpe or lute, or lustely to synge,
Or in the prees right mannerly to daunce;
When men se a chyld of such governance
They says 'glad may this chyldis frendis be
To have a chyld so mannerly as is he.'"⁹

Then the book rises far above the average of its kind by aspiring to advise concerning the boy's mental training. He is to read eloquent books, and learn to talk to the point. He is to devote himself especially to Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Chaucer, and Lydgate. The author apologizes for the beggarliness of his own style.

"Loo, my childe, these faders aunicyente
Ripen the feldes fresshe of fulsomnes,
The floures fresh they gadred up and hente
Of silver langage the grete riches;
Who wolle hit have, my litle childe, doutles,
Muste of hem begge, there is no more to saye,
For of oure tunge they were both lok and kaye."¹⁰

The lad who aspires to gentle courtesy must take heed of the fashions of his time, for customs quickly change. He should imitate the well-mannered, not the rustic who does not doff his cap, and is tight-braced enough to burst. On the other hand, he is not to dress effeminately, nor act Jack Malapert; to women, he must act so as

"To do them plesure, honoure, and reverence."

This treatise, it will be admitted, is unusually high in tone. It's poetical touches show some real leavening from the courtly ideal of Renaissance conduct.¹¹

⁹EETS., ExS., Vol. 3, p.)-, ll. 302-308.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 41, ll. 400-406.

¹¹Other examples of this type are *The Babees' Boke*, *Urbanitatis*, and *The Lytylle Childrenes Lytil Boke*. In 1557 appears Seager's *The*

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Whether or not Tudor maidens needed instruction, (and it would be more courteous to assume that their gentility was innate), they did not receive attention to nearly the same degree as the pueri. Very scanty indeed is the purely English material; in fact there is nothing indigenous directed to girls of *gentle* birth. Girls of low degree were addressed in a poem which dates from the 15th century, and outlasted the 16th in popularity. In this poem, *How the Good Wife Taught her Daughter*, the girl is instructed in somewhat callous language, how she should treat a prospective or attained husband. She is not to laugh inordinately, and when she goes to market, she must be cautious, and not take gifts from strangers. She must not gad about nor show off nor sit alone with men. She should not slander nor chide her neighbors.

"Yif thou be in any stede ther good drynke is a lofte,
Whethir thou serve or sitte softe,
Mesurly take the offe, that the falle no blame,
Yif thou be ofte dronken, it fallithe the to grete schame;"¹²

And, for the spinster, we read:

"Yfe thou wylt no hosbonde have,
but where thy maydon crown,
Ren not about in everi pley,
nor to tavern in toune;
Syt sadly in thin arey,
let mournynge be thi gown;"¹³

The married woman must be particularly careful of her accounts, her servants, and her reputation, when her lord is away from home. She must not ruin him with extravagance. If rich, she should not vaunt, and

Schoole of Vertue, which includes most of the material of all that precede it. The points are supported by wise saws from Plato, Pythagoras, Seneca, Pericles, Aristotle, Cicero, etc., but it is doubtful whether this allusiveness is not the glib carelessness of the Middle Ages rather than the genuine information of the Renaissance. For all this material, see EETS., Vol. 32.

¹²Hazlitt: REPP., Vol. 1, p. 183, ll. 51-54.

¹³EETS., ExS., Vol. 8, p. 43, ll. 134-139.

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"Yif thi neyboures wif have riche atyire,
Ther for make thou no stryve, no bren thou noght as fyre;
But thanke God of that good that he hathe the geven,
And so thou shalt, my good child, in grete ese leaven."¹⁴

At the birth of a daughter the wise mother will begin saving for her dowry, and as for discipline:

"Yif thou love thin childryn, loke thou holde hem lowe;
Yif any of hem do amys, curse hem nought ne blowe,
But take a smerte rodde, and bete hem alle by rowe,
Tylle thei crye mercy, and be here gylte a knowe."¹⁵

The sole example of courtly literature for young girls is *The Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry*, which was translated during the reign of Henry VI, was translated again and printed by Caxton in 1484. How prolonged in popularity the old literature of manners was, may be judged from the fact that a French book, completed in 1372, served admirably the English public a century later. The knight declares his purpose thus: "y purposed to make a litelle boke, in the whiche y wolde write the good condicones and dedes of ladies and gentille-women, that for her goodness were worshipped, honoured, praised, and renommed the tyme passed, and ever shall be for her wel doinge and goodness, to that entent that my doughtres shulde take ensample of faire continuaunce and good manere."¹⁶ Then he proceeds to recount many stories, each of which has a moral bearing, heavy or attenuated, upon his daughters' training. General precepts are attained only by a naïve use of the inductive method.

The knight's ideall of womanliness, though it be far from the modern conception, is admirably summed up in his words: "Alle gentil-women and nobille maydenes comen of good kyn ought to be goodli, meke, wele tached, ferme in estate, behaving, and maners, littelle, softe and esy in speche, and in answere curteys and gentill, and not light in lokinge."¹⁷ He advises his daughters carefully how they may best manage

¹⁴Hazlitt: REPP., Vol. 1, p. 185, ll. 81-84.

¹⁵Hazlitt: REPP., Vol. I, p. 191, ll. 156-159.

¹⁶EETS., Vol. 33 (1906), p. 3, ll.3-8.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 18, ll. 29-33.

their husbands: "the wiff aught to suffre and lete the husbonde have the wordes, and to be maister, for that is her worshippe, for it is a shame to here striff betwene hem, and in especial before folke. But y saie not but whanne thei be allone, but she may telle hym with goodly wordes, and counsaile hym to amende yef he do amys."¹⁵ The cautious father denounces serving women who ape grand ladies by wearing fur on collars and heels, and says: "y praie you that ye be not the furst to take new shappes and gizes of array of women of straung contrey." He discourages their going to public places, jousts and pilgrimages, but "yef it happe that ye must nedes go to such festis, and that ye may not forsake it when it is night that thei begynne to syng and daunce, loke that ye have ever a frende or sum cosin, or servaunt of youres by you, for ferde and perille and evelle speche."¹⁹ Then the father moralizes upon the seven sins of Eve, upon the ill-fortunes of bad women, and the prosperity of good women. His ideal of female education is thus expressed: "it is beter and more noble thinge to here speke of good ensaumples, and of vertuous levinge of seintes, which profitethe to oure sowles and body, thanne for to studie or to rede of fayned stories and fables, such as may nat cause encrese of science, and is inprofitable unto the soule. How be it there be suche men that have opynion that thei wolde not that her wyves nor her doughtres shulde knowe no thyng of the scripture: as touchinge unto the holy scripture, it is not force though women medille not nor knowe but litelle thereof but for to rede; everi woman it is the beter that canne rede and have knowinge of the lawe of God, and for to have be lerned to have vertu and science to withstonde the perilles of the sowle."²⁰ By thus culling bits from this heterogeneous

¹⁸Ibid., p. 25, l. 30—p. 26, l. 3.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 36, ll. 21-25. It is interesting to compare the policy with the practice of the closely kept maiden. In 1550 Anne Cooke, later, mother of Francis Bacon, wrote of her translations of Bernardino Ochions sermons: "If ought be erred in the translation, remember 'tis a woman's, yea, a gentlewoman's, who commonly are wonted to live idly, a maiden who never gadded further than her father's house to learn the language."

²⁰Ibid., p. 118, ll. 124-136.

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assemblage of old stories, we may reconstruct, perhaps, a full-length portrait of this ideal of noble education.

Serving men receive much attention from writers on manners in this period, for Tudor England, in spite of its fundamental coarseness and brutalities, laid on, in its upper ranges, a thick coating of etiquette and formality. It was to train servants in this elaborate ritual of service that the book of manners was composed for them. The documents in this category are the Percy Society's *Boke of Curtasye*, John Russell's *Boke of Nurture*, Wynkyn de Worde's *Boke of Kervynge*, and Hugh Rhodes' *Boke of Nurture*. Over a whole century these books range, yet an analysis of their contents will show that there is hardly an important distinction among them in matter or style.

The Percy Society's *Boke of Curtasye*, the third part of which alone concerns us here, gives in detail, the organization of a great gentleman's *ménage*. There is an account of the functions of the marshall, butler, pantler, cooks, grooms, senechal, controller, clerk of the kitchen, treasurer, receiver for the farms, baker, hunter, water-bearer, carvers, almoner, sewer, Chandler. Here is an example of the book's method:

"The aumenere a rod schalle have in hande,
As office for almes, y undurstonde.
Alle the broken met he kepys y wate
To dele to pore men at the gate,
And drynke that leves served in halle;
Of ryche and pore bothe grete and smalle."²¹

How elaborate and, perhaps to us, unintelligible, much of the ceremonial was, a few lines from the instructions of the water-bearers may suggest:

"Wosoever gefes water in lordys chamber,
In presence of lorde or levedé dere.,
He shalle knele downe opone his kné,
Ellys he forgetes his curtasé,
This ewer schalle hele his lordes borde,
With dowbulle napere at on bare worde:
The selvage to the lordes side withinne,

²¹Percy Soc: Vol. 13, p. 30, ll. 737-741.

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And downe schalle heng that other may wyne,
Tho over nape schalle dowbulle be layde,
To the utter syde the selvage brade;
Tho over selvage he schalle repleye,
As towelle hit were fayrest in hye;
Browsers he schalle cast ther opon,
That the lorde schulle clense his fyngers [on],
The levedy and whosever syttes withinne,
Alle browsers schynne have bothe more and mynne.”²²

The author of the earlier *Boke of Nurture* describes himself as “John Russell, sumtyme servande with Duke Umfrey of Glowcetur, a prince fulle royalle, with whome uschere in chambur was Y, and mershalle also in Halle.” This experienced official describes the duties of a pantler and butler, how to cut bread, how to ‘broach a pipe’, how to avoid wine’s fermenting, how to make Hippocras, how to keep the buttery, to lay the table, and how waiters should behave. Then with scientific technicality, Russell describes the carving of all sorts of meat, fowl and fish, and gives menus for fish days, for flesh days, for a franklin’s feast, with lists of devices (mottoes) to put on his puddings. One of the most valuable passages in the book is a description of the chamberlain assisting his lord to dress, it ends—

“Then lace his doublett every hoole so by and bye;
On his shuldur about his nek, a kercheff there must lye,
And curteisly than ye kymbe his hed with combe of yvery,
And watur warme his handes to wasche, and face also clenly.
Then knele a down on your kne, and thus to youre soverayn
say:

“Syr, whate Robe or gown pleseth it you to were today?”
Such as he axeth fore loke ye plese hym to pay
Than hold it to hym abrode, his body there-in to array,”²³

We enter still deeper into the gentleman’s privacy, when we read of a Tudor bath.

“A basyn full in youre hande of herbis hote and fresche;
And with a soft sponge in hand, his body that ye wasche;

²²Percy Soc: Vol. 13, p. 30, ll. 651-666.

²³EETS., Vol 32, p. 177, ll. 899-906.

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Rynse hym with rose watur warme and ferre uppon him
flasche.

Then lett hym go to bed, but look it be soote and nesche." ²⁴

A nice distinction we note in Russell's order of precedence.

"Right so reverend docturs, degre of 12 yere, them ye must
assigne,

To sitt above hym, that commensed hath but nine.

And thaughe the yonger may larger spend gold red and fyne,

Yet shalle the eldur sitte above, whethur he drynke or
dyne." ²⁵

It is very significant of the steady persistence of courtly taste that much of the matter of Rhodes' *Boke of Nurture*²⁶ is most similar to that of other examples of this class of a century earlier. It opens with a prose preface 'Why Parents should teach their Children and Servants',—among other reasons, because "it is a hye servyce to God, it getteth favour in the syghte of men, it multiplyeth goods, and increaseth thy good name, it also provoketh to prayer by which Gods grace is obtayned." The second section, also in prose, gives the 'Manner of Serving a Knyght, Squyre or Gentleman',—how to prepare dinner, how to behave, while waiting at table, and how to clear it. Then comes 'How to order your Maysters Chamber to bed warde.' Next crops up Rhodes' or some other man's version of 'Stans Puer.' Perhaps the heart of the whole matter is the section 'For the Waytyng Servaunt.' All contingencies of the servant's life the astute Rhodes is ready to meet. He counsels him as to friends, dress, the rewards of truthfulness, and the penalties of oaths, sloth, and quarrels. He bids him control his tongue, and

"Use honest pastyme, talke or synge, or some Instrument use:
Though they be thy betters, to hear they will thee not refuse."

²⁴Ibid., p. 183, ll. 983-986.

²⁵Ibid., p. 193, ll. 1153-1156. We may pass over Wynkyn de Worde's *Boke of Kervynge* as it is merely a prose adaptation of Russell's comments on that subject.

²⁶This popular book seems to have been printed before 1554 by T. Petit, between 1561 and 1575 by T. Cobwell, between 1551 and 1586, by Ab. Veale, in 1586, by T. East, and in 1577 by H. Jackson.

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Much needed advice the counsellor proffers concerning marriage, and heaps all the traditional evils upon the gentle heads of women.

After line 237, the poem degenerates into moralizing for all sorts of people, and sweet common-place such as

"It is better to be poore and to lyve in rest and myrth,
Then to be riche with sorrow, and come of noble byrth."

Perhaps a hint of Tennyson's melodious democracy peers through the lines:

"Be not to bolde in your array nor yet boast of your goods:
More worth is honesty, be sure, then gawdy velvet hoodes."

Rhodes comes nearest to expressing in commonplace language, his commonplace ideal in—

"A Gentleman should mercy use
to set forth his nativitee:
He should be meeke and curteous,
and full of humanitee.
Pore men must be gaythfull
and obedient in lyving,
Avoyding all rebellyon
and rigorous bloodshedding." ²⁷

Whither we might expect most of the literature of manners to be directed, we find least. The gentleman or courtier, if he depended on books for his guidance, must have fared ill, at least, until late in this period. If the truth be told, Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Governour* is the only creation which without much stretching of the terminology, may be called a veritable courtesy-book. We may, indeed, get a glimpse of noble intercourse from *A Booke of Precedence*, Harl. Ms. 1440, leaf 11. Here are the fine shades indeed. We learn how an Earl is created, and what title falls to a noble-woman who marries above her rank or (*miserabile!*) below it. We learn of the distribution, according to rank of 'powderyngs' and 'assayes.' A Viscount "may have in his owne howse the cupp of Assaye houlden under his cup when he drinketh, but none assaye taken;" the length of one's robe etiquette also fixes:

²⁷EETS., Vol. 32, p. 101, ll. 677-684.

"A Duke . . . he to have in his howse a Cloth of Estate, and in every place Els out of the princes presence, so that the same com not to the ground by halfe a yarde; and likewyse a dutchesse may have her Cloth of estate, and a barones to beare up her trayne in her owne house." ²⁸ A delicate distinction is suggested in—"neyther may the marchionesse have her gowne born in a Dutchesses presens but with a gentile-man ffor it is accounted a higher degree borne with a woman then with a man;" ²⁹

The old physician and world-trotter, Andrew Borde, may be made to contribute a few lines to the picture. His *Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* is a veritable encyclopedia of travel, giving the customs, manners, fashions, coinage and conversation of nearly all the countries of the then-known world. "The people of France," he says, "doo delyte in gorgious apparell, and will have every daye a new fashion. They have no greate fantasy to Englyshmen; they do love syngyng and dansyng and musicall instrumentes; and they be hyghemynded and statly people." ³⁰ "The Lomberdes be so crafty, that one of them in a countrey is enough to mar a whole countrey," and his Italian says—"Every nacion have spyed my fashions out." Being a shrewd old gentleman, Borde turned his criticism upon his own nation, and was not reluctant to point out such a short-coming as its impatience with learning. His 16th century Englishman says:

"I am an Englishman, and naked I stand here,
Musyng in my mynde what rayment I shal were;
For now I wyll were thys, and now I wyl were that,
Now I wyl were I cannot tel what.
All new fashyons be plesaunt to me;
I wyl have them, whether I thryve or thee." ³¹

Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Governour* comes, after all, nearest to incorporating the full spirit of the Renaissance in its bearing on the training of nobility. How broad the lines of

²⁸EETS., ExS., Vol. 8, p. 13.

²⁹Ibid., p. 15.

³⁰EETS., ExS., Vol. 10, p. 191.

³¹Ibid., p. 116.

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this book are may be judged from the fact that Hallam in the 19th century called it the earliest treatise on moral philosophy in English, and now Professor Foster Watson denominates it, "the first book on the subject of Education written and printed in the English language." Amid the pleadings of special interests, we must not forget that the central purpose of the work is the training of a governor for a monarchy. The plan is so spacious that, though its focus is a sovereign and ours a gentleman, it includes much matter which falls within our interest. That lies not in education as an end, but in education as a means to the moulding of a perfect courtier. Elyot discusses the very beginning of his hero's education, the choice of a nurse, and the advisability of his having after the age of seven, "onely such as may accustome hym by litle and litle to speake pure and elegant Latin."³² Elyot encourages, in the gentleman, the training of an artistic aptitude, qualified, however, by the *amateur* spirit so characteristic of the Italian courtier: "I intende not, by these examples, to make of a prince or noble mannes sonne, a commune painter or kerver, which shall present him selfe openly stained or embrued with sondry colours, or powdered with the duste of stones that he cutteth, or perfumed with tedious savours of the metalles by him gotten. . . . Yet shall they nat be by him exercised, but as a secrete pastime, or recreation of the wittes, late occupied in serious studies."³³ The author disposes of the barbarous idea that to be a scholar is to be ungentlemanly. "There be some, which, without shame, dare affirme that to a great gentilman it is a notable reproche to be well lerned and to be called a great clerke: which name they accounte to be of so base estimation, that they never have it in their mouthss but whan they speke any thyng in derision."³⁴ Elyot devotes several chapters to manly sports; wrestling, running, swimming, riding, vaulting, hunting, and shooting with the long bow. Here too appears the essential gentility of his attitude: "Some men wolde say, that in mediocritie, which I have so moche praised

³²Elyot's *The Governour*, ed. H. H. S. Croft, Vol. I, p. 35.

³³*Ibid.*, p. 48.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 99.

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in shootynge, why shulde not bowlynge, claisse, pynnes and koytyng be as moche commended? Verily, as for two the laste, be to be utterly abiected of al noble men, in likewise footeballe, wherin is nothinge but beastly furie and extreme violence; whereof rancour and malice do remaine with them that be wounded; wherefore it is to be put in perpetuall silence,"³⁵ but "Huntyng of the hare with grehoundes is a righte good solace for men that be studiouse, or them to whom nature hath not gyven personage or courage apte for the warres. And also for gentilwomen which fere neither sonne nor wynde for appairing their beautie. And peradventure they shall be there at lasse idell, than they shulde at home in their chambers."³⁶ The refined morality with which the subtle author theorized upon his behavior appears in the half-dozen chapters on 'dauncing.' Besides describing the technique of Tudor dances, Elyot moralizes the performance as the game of chess had been treated earlier. To the unsympathetic reader, the treatment is ridiculous enough; refinement verges on perversity.

The most obvious evidence, of course, of Elyot's humanism is his wide and thorough classical learning with which he pads every chapter and bulwarks every precept. In this book appears, if anywhere in England before 1557, the characteristics of the courtly type of the Renaissance, the ideal of fully rounded development, the cultivation of the artistic and athletic impulses, the stress on 'readiness of wit and knowledge in letters,' the carefully balanced and perfected self-consciousness.

At last, the question must be faced of the influence of Italian courtesy literature on that of Tudor England. Facts of intercourse, of exchange of travellers, of Italian specialists—physicians and swordsmen—at the court, of English gentlemen at the Italian universities, it has been fairly easy to establish.³⁷ But how quickly did this interchange appear in literature? Did adoption of theory follow or precede adoption of practice? In the first place, we must remember the

³⁵Ibid., p. 294.

³⁶Ibid., p. 195.

³⁷See Lewis Einstein: *The Italian Renaissance in England*, Chap. II.

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persistence of method, manner and matter in the material here discussed.

Wm. Rossetti, in his *Essay on Early Italian Courtesy Books*³⁸ analyses the more important examples from 1300 to 1600, but makes no attempt to establish the amount of their influence in England. In Italy, to be sure, we find as early as 1290 in Fra Bonvesino da Riva's *Fifty Courtesies of the Table* the same kind of precepts which the *Stans Puer* contained, but Agnolo Panofini's *Governing of a Family* (1425-30) and Matteo Palmieri's *Dialogue on Civil Life* (1430) do not resemble, superficially, at any rate, any of our specimens. As for the great Italian examples, their influence can be shown to be absent or very indirect. Baldassare Castiglione's *The Courtier* was published in Italy in 1528; it was translated into French in 1538, into Spanish in 1540, while it did not receive an English translation till that of Sir Thomas Hoby appeared in 1561. What influence this work may have had on Elyot, (and his is the only work where there is any likelihood of influence,) must have been through the original,³⁹ and so far as Mr. Croft has pointed out, there are no noticeable resemblances. Della Cassa's *Galateo*, written in 1550, was too late a contribution to influence anything considered here. Elyot's model, at times a rather close one, was Francesco Patrizi's *De Regno et Regis Institutione*, printed in Paris in 1518, 1520, 1550, and 1577, and appearing in Italian in 1545 and 1547. It may safely be said, then, that the direct influence of any true Italian courtesy book on this period in England, is negligible or non-existent.

From this somewhat distended mass of facts and analyses, several conclusions, I trust, emerge. 1. The larger quantity of Tudor books of manners is divided to boys, pages, and serving men. Small is the matter for girls and gentlewomen, and surprisingly meagre is that devoted to the training of gentlemen. 2. The contents, style and method of practically all this literature are *constant* from about 1430 to 1557, with the exception,

³⁸EETS., Vol. 8, Pt. 2, pp. 1-76.

³⁹Elyot's *The Governour* appeared in 1531, and before fifty years had passed, eight editions had been published, the latest in 1580.

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perhaps, of the personal distinction of Caxton's *Book of Courtesy*. 3. The bulk of matter constitutes a literature of manners, not a system of courtesy. 4. The influence of Italian courtesy literature is practically negligible. To 3 and 4, Elyot's *The Governour* is the sole great exception.

FRED. B. MILLET.

THE AQUARIUM—A SONNET.

Within the crystal walls of their small keep
Three golden carp, flashing like jewels bright,
Dart and snatch their food, unheeding quite
The hand that strews, responding as they leap,
To one impulse only, dead to the deep
And surging life beyond their glimm'ring weald,
Dull ears deaf to bird-song, dim eyes sealed
To overaching cloudland's mighty sweep.
So are our senses shaped to things of earth;
As little know we what mayhap lies near
But yet unseen; so fail our ears to hear
Sounds from an outer world; so mere sense dearth
Confines the spirit gaze to life's parade,
And we mark not the thin wall 'round us laid.

Caroline E. McNeill.

Kingston, November, 1917.

THE REGION OF EXTREMELY LOW TEMPERATURE.*

NOW that the war is over, we may turn back and follow, as we used to do, one of the attractive paths of science and examine what has been accomplished in investigation of low temperature phenomena. That there has been a great stimulation of certain lines of scientific effort due to the war is well known to all, and in most laboratories war problems have displaced all others. The scientific men of Canada, however, have been called upon but very little to give their time and peculiar powers to the solution of the problems of warfare. Notwithstanding this, even in Canada, productive investigation has diminished. Almost nowhere has the work of investigation in pure science not been interrupted. In the Universities of Holland, however, the continuity has not been broken, and while even in these institutions, laboratory assistants were drafted in 1915-16, owing to the fact that the Universities are state controlled, it was not difficult to secure leave of absence for men deemed indispensable to the work of the laboratories. The people of Holland are proud of their universities and are generous with them, and a productive scholar is given every encouragement.

At Leiden is one of the most famous laboratories of the world, both because of its peculiar history and the line of its activity. The universities of that little country are so closely related that one may think of them almost as a single institution. By a sort of understanding, the physics laboratory of each pursues its own definite line of research. For example, at Amsterdam, Zeemann and his colleagues are interested in problems in radiation and work on them almost exclusively, while at Leiden, Kamerlingh Onnes and his staff are engaged in the study of the fundamental properties of matter, and in particular of certain substances, the so-called permanent gases.

*A lecture delivered before the Queen's Alumni Conference, December 11, 1918.

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Ever since the time of van der Waals in 1870, the energies and facilities of this laboratory have been turned toward the study of gases and their liquefaction and solidification, because, in this way, much can be learned of the structure and properties of matter.

We may understand the general problem of such investigations by consideration of such a typical substance as water. If we lower the temperature of water to 0°C . it freezes or becomes ice. Again, if we raise the temperature of water in an open vessel to 100°C . the water passes into steam or vapour. Both ice and steam are water, chemically speaking, but their physical properties are very different from those of ordinary liquid water. We find similar phenomena with other substances. Lead is solid at ordinary temperatures, but if the temperature be raised to 327°C ., the lead melts and becomes liquid; if we heat it to about 1500° , it boils and becomes vapour. Even iron may be melted and vapourized. The temperature of the sun is so high that its atmosphere contains iron in the form of vapour. On the other hand, if we take air, which, at ordinary temperature is a gas, and cool it sufficiently, it becomes a liquid and if cooled still more it becomes a solid, resembling ice. In general, then, the condition in which we find any substance depends on the temperature. If we raise the temperature sufficiently, all substances may be vapourized, and, we believe, if we lower it sufficiently, that all substances may be solidified. Only one substance, helium, has resisted all efforts to liquefy it. Here is one of the unities of Nature, a great law of corresponding states.

Obviously, two lines of attack are open to investigate these states of matter and the transitions from one to another. We may raise the temperature and liquefy solids and vapourize liquids, or, we may lower the temperature and liquefy gases and solidify liquids. There are several good reasons why the latter method has been chosen at Leiden. To begin with, manipulation of bodies at high temperature is attended by great experimental difficulties. Apparatus becomes very difficult to build and handle and the control of the temperature becomes very difficult. Again, there is a better chance of discovering fundamental truths at low temperatures than at high,

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partly because we may approach nearer to the lowest level of temperature than we may the highest known temperature and partly because there is an actual lower limit, while, so far as we know, there is no upper limit.

Everyone is familiar with the construction and use of thermometers. The commonest is made of mercury enclosed in glass. This may be used from -39°C. to perhaps as high as 500°C. , when properly made. At -39°C. mercury freezes, while it boils at 357°C. Alcohol, toluol, and some other liquids, which have lower freezing points, can be used for temperatures below -39° . For higher temperatures than can be measured with the mercury thermometer we may resort to gas and electrical thermometers. Also, for very low temperatures we use gas and electrical thermometers again.

Let us suppose that we had a thermometer made of some hypothetical substance so that it could measure all temperatures from the lowest to the highest known. The freezing point of water is at 0°C. and the boiling point at 100°C. Compared with the entire range of this hypothetical thermometer, the distance between the points beyond which life is impossible, seems almost infinitesimal, and we are tempted to ask whether our presence on the earth and the possible living conditions which we find here, are not merely an accident of temperature, or a transitional phase in the great sweep from sun temperatures, or higher, down to absolute zero. We are very dependent on the temperature of our surroundings. A permanent change of 50° in either direction would change this planet to such an extent that it would hardly be recognizable except from its dimensions. According to Humphries, the effect of one severe volcanic eruption per year would be sufficient to bring on an ice age. Even two or three near together might lower the temperature of the surface of the earth sufficiently to decrease the production of food to the point of famine. The volcanic dust, which is thrown into the air in such an eruption, is so fine and is thrown so high that it floats for a long time in the quiet upper strata of the atmosphere and becomes almost uniformly distributed over the globe. Thus, it acts as a great curtain and cuts down the amount of heat received at the surface of the earth.

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Down at the bottom of our thermometer is the lowest possible temperature, -273°C. , and at the other end is the hottest temperature known. On this thermometer the sun's temperature is about 7000° . There may be places hotter than this, but there is no temperature lower than the lowest, i.e., lower than absolute zero. Many people have some difficulty in understanding how there is a lowest, but not a highest temperature. The reason lies in the nature of matter, heat and temperature.

If we could imagine ourselves gifted beyond all existing men and could be endowed with extreme ultra-microscopic powers of sight, quickness of vision and brain operation together with extreme lightness of touch, we might take a crystal like salt, for example, and divide it continually into smaller and smaller pieces. We could do this over and over again, obtaining smaller fragments of salt at every step, until we came to a point where further division would yield not salt, but its components sodium and chlorine. These particles of sodium and chlorine are the units out of which the salt crystal is built, the bricks forming the structure. They are called atoms and are the ultimate particles of matter considered in the ordinary sense. They are arranged in a definite cubical order and are regularly spaced. Each sodium atom is attached to six chlorine atoms and each chlorine atom is attached to six sodium atoms. This startling simplicity and regularity of structure has been demonstrated by a most interesting and ingenious application of the X-ray bulb. Similarly, other crystals are built up in a regular way with atoms as units but not with this extreme simplicity.

When a liquid or a solid evaporates the atoms leave in pairs or groups and form a vapour and we can then determine the size of the particles and show that each consists of a pair, or a group of atoms. We call this group a molecule. Similarly, all gases are found to have a molecular structure. The molecules of gases are true molecules in the older sense of the word, while in crystals we cannot pick out definite pairs or groups and speak of them as molecules.

The particles of a substance (the atoms or molecules as the case may be) are in constant motion. In a solid this mo-

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tion is a simple vibratory motion and apparently is complicated by so many crowding and attracting atoms; in a liquid the atoms must have considerable freedom of motion, while in a gas this motion consists mainly of darting about in the vessel in which the gas is found. We think of the temperature of a body as determined by the energy of this atomic vibration. This means that temperature is a measure of this energy. The more rapidly the particles move, the higher the temperature. As the temperature is lowered, the motion becomes less and less rapid until at absolute zero it ceases. On this ground, then, we may believe that there is an absolute zero. We may have a zero of motion but no upper limit. There are other better and more convincing grounds for belief in this lowest temperature but they are beyond the scope of this paper.

Thus we see that reduction of temperature means a change in the motion of the particles, a slowing up of their velocities, and we may expect light on the question of the structure of matter if we study it at low temperatures, which we could hardly hope to gain at high temperatures. Besides, the experimental difficulties are not so great. We can find substances of which to build our apparatus that will resist cold, but will not so easily resist heat. For too much motion of the atoms brings about disintegration with liquefaction or vapourization, while diminution of their motions may produce changes, but these are not serious from the mechanical point of view.

The work of the past decade, largely at Cambridge and Manchester, has shown that we can say something about the internal structure of the atom. For example, we know that the atom is made up of electricity, at least in part, perhaps entirely so. According to the best authorities we have a positive charge acting as a sort of sun and a set of negative charges somewhat like planets whirling around the attracting centre.*

*There is a different view of the atom that is gaining ground, particularly amongst chemists. This postulates a positive nucleus and attendant electrons, but these are stationary and occupy approximately fixed positions. It must be admitted that this view, while introducing new difficulties, avoids many that appear in the theory of revolving electrons.

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Just how these are arranged is not yet perfectly certain, but it seems probable that the hydrogen atom consists of a central heavy, very small mass of positive electricity and an associated negative electron which is very much larger in size, but much less massive. The helium atom consists of such a central positive charge and two negative electrons. Then, when we come to heavier and heavier atoms we have more and more of these satellites. The motions of these satellites give us light and kindred radiations. Of course, when the atoms vibrate, the motion of vibration is shared by the electrons, so that the radiation from the atom is affected by the temperature. In other words, while the motion of the electron in a sense is independent of the motion of the centre of the atom, it is influenced by it. Hence, if we can cool bodies to approximately absolute zero, we may reduce the motion of the electrons to relatively simpler paths. No doubt, gravitation, chemical affinity and other types of force between bodies will turn out to be due to the properties of these electrons. So development of low temperature research holds great promise for the unravelling of some of Nature's secrets. It is not strange then that at Leiden the greater part of the time is spent on the study of materials at low temperature. It requires, however, expensive equipment and a high degree of technical skill and can be done at only a very limited number of laboratories, which are especially fitted for such work. Sir James Dewar in London, Linde of Berlin, Kamerlingh Onnes at Leiden, Olzewski and Wroblewski in Russia, and Pictet and Cailletet in France have had such laboratories. There are none on this continent.

Before turning our attention to actual accomplishments, we may examine how the temperature is measured when it is so low. The electrical resistance of metals increases as the temperature rises and the amount of this change may be used as a measure of the temperature. [Experiment shown]. Also the pressure of a gas increases with the temperature since the motion of the particles becomes more energetic, as the temperature rises. Hence, this change in pressure may be utilized to measure the temperature. [Experiment shown]. The difficulties increase as the temperature becomes lower,

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because we are not sure of the laws of the changes in these phenomena at extremely low temperature, until they are investigated. So, different methods must be employed and the properties of the substances used as thermometers must be investigated as we go along. For example, air cannot be used in a thermometer below its boiling point, -190°C . For lower temperatures, hydrogen may be used; for still lower, helium; while for temperatures below the boiling point of helium, its vapour under low pressure may be used. In this way temperatures have been measured down to within less than 2° of absolute zero.

We may now turn to the methods for producing low temperatures. There are four general methods.

1. Freezing mixtures. The normal freezing point of water is 0° , and, as is well known, ice melts at the same temperature. Whenever ice and water are together, unless the temperature of the water is already zero, the ice will be melted and heat will be abstracted from the water, cooling it. This melting and lowering of temperature will continue until either the ice is all melted or the temperature of the water falls to zero. Ice and water together at 0° are in equilibrium. The freezing point of water is lowered by the addition of substances like common salt, for example. In other words, a salt solution will not freeze until the temperature is lowered below zero, the amount of lowering necessary, depending on the concentration of the solution. If ice be placed in such a solution it will melt and the temperature will be lowered. The process will not stop, however, when the temperature falls to zero, but will continue until the temperature falls to the freezing point of the solution. While ice and water are in equilibrium at 0° , the salt in the water continues to abstract water from the ice and the temperature is reduced. It is as though the salt in solution were not satisfied with the water already present but demanded more. The table shows the temperatures available with different salts, and the concentrations of the solutions.

Calcium chloride	-55°	29.8 %
Sodium chloride	-22°	23.6 %

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Sodium bromide	—24°	41.33%
Sodium nitrate	—17.5°	40.8 %
Ammonium chloride	—15°	19.27%

If the temperature falls below the value given for any salt in table, the solution freezes as a mixture of ice and salt crystals. Such a frozen mixture is called a cryohydrate. Ordinarily, when a salt solution freezes, it freezes as pure water leaving the salt in the unfrozen brine. A large bottle of any colored salt solution freezes in an interesting manner. It begins freezing as clear ice in the layers next to the glass and freezes inward as the temperature falls lower and lower. The concentration becomes greater and greater until at the cryohydric point the solution freezes as a colored mass. A glance at the table shows the temperatures necessary to accomplish this for different salts. If ice be placed in a solution of any of these salts the temperature is lowered and may reach the cryohydric temperature. Thus we have a means of producing moderately low temperatures.

2. Boiling under reduced pressure. Water boils at 100° under atmospheric pressure because the pressure of its vapour at this temperature is equal to the atmospheric pressure. Consequently, the tiny bubbles of air contained in the water are filled up with water vapour at atmospheric pressure and any additional pressure, even if very slight, causes these bubbles to grow, filling with vapour as they grow, until they rise to the top of the liquid and burst. Consequently, if we lower the pressure of the air on the liquid it will boil at a lower temperature. The heat abstracted during the boiling is the cause of the lowering of the temperature.

If the pressure be kept constant, the temperature of the boiling liquid may be maintained accurately constant for many hours. With ordinary ether the temperature may be lowered to approximately —100° if the vapour be removed by a powerful pump. Water may be boiled in this way and actually frozen by the abstraction of heat. [Experiment shown].

In the following table are given, in order, normal boiling points of common liquids, freezing points, and critical temperatures. The critical temperature of a substance is the

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temperature above which it is not possible to liquefy its vapour by pressure.

Substance	Boiling Point	Freezing Point	Critical Temperature
Methyl chloride	—23	—91.5	141.5
Ethylene	—101.5	—169	10.1
Nitrogen ..	—195	—213	—149
Oxygen... ..	—181	—220	119
Air ..	—190	—210	—140.7
Hydrogen ..	—252.7	—257	—238
Helium ..	—268.8	?	—267.8
Ammonia ..	—33.5	—75.5	132.3
Water ..	100	0	374
Mercury ..	357	—39	1270

We see that we have a great variety of liquids which we may use for reduction of temperature in this way. Of course the temperature must be lowered to a point below the critical temperature before the gas may be liquefied by pressure. Then, when it is liquefied, if the pressure be lowered, the temperature may be reduced even to the freezing point of the liquid, perhaps a little lower. Liquid helium boiling under reduced pressure reaches the temperature -271.85° , or only a little over a degree above absolute zero.

3. Cooling of gases by Adiabatic Expansion. If a gas be compressed or expanded in a chamber which is impervious to heat, no heat can flow into or out from the gas and the process is called adiabatic. When a gas expands adiabatically it is doing work and is cooled. In the French liquid air machine, invented by Claude, this principle is utilized. The air is first strongly compressed. This compression raises the temperature to a very high point, the compression being practically adiabatic. So the heat produced must be removed by circulating cold water around the pipes through which the air passes. The compressed air is expanded in a small motor and it emerges from the motor reduced in temperature. This cooled air passes back to the compressor through pipes surrounding the pipe bringing the compressed air to the motor so that the new air reaches the motor somewhat reduced in

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temperature. This regenerative process goes on with continuous reduction of temperature until the air liquefies as it expands out of the motor. This method of producing liquid air seems to be the most successful of any for large installations.

4. The cooling of gases by the Joule-Kelvin effect.

If a gas be expanded from a high pressure to a lower pressure it suffers a slight change of temperature due to a readjustment of the internal energy. It is found that at ordinary temperature hydrogen and helium are slightly warmed, while all other gases are cooled slightly. The amount of the cooling or heating depends on the temperature at which the gas is taken for the experiment. If the experiment with air is carried out at a lower temperature, the cooling effect is greater. If we perform the experiment with hydrogen below about -90° , we find that the gas is cooled by this expansion just as in the case of air, while if we operate with air at a very high temperature it is heated. This is only another example of the law of corresponding states.

To liquefy air by utilizing the Joule-Kelvin effect, the air is first compressed as in the Claude process and expanded through a small opening, cooling itself as it expands. The same regenerative process is applied as in the Claude process and the temperature is finally lowered to the temperature at which air liquefies, viz., -190° .

In the early days of low temperature investigation freezing mixtures and boiling under reduced pressure were commonly used. So at Leiden we find a series of operations for production of low temperature. Methyl chloride will liquefy if compressed only a little—a few atmospheres suffices. It is then boiled under reduced pressure with the aid of a powerful vacuum pump, by which means the temperature is lowered to -90° . Then ethylene, which has a critical temperature of 10° and thus cannot be liquefied at ordinary temperature, is cooled in the cold of the methyl chloride chamber and liquefied under pressure. It then flows into a second vacuum chamber where the vacuum is maintained by another pump and temperature drops to -140° . Next, oxygen under pressure is cooled in this chamber, liquefied and poured into a third vacuum chamber

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where the temperature is reduced to -183° by the same method. Air under a small pressure is cooled in the cold of the oxygen chamber and liquefies under this small pressure and runs out as a mobile, slightly bluish liquid, boiling at -190° . The advantage of such a process is the possibility of experimenting at any temperature between ordinary temperatures and -190° . Another advantage in an experimental laboratory lies in low pressures involved. The outfit is too costly and too complicated to be duplicated, however. Liquid air is a common commodity now and almost every large city has its liquid air plant. The plants of L'Air Liquide Society at Montreal, Toronto and Niagara Falls employ the Claude process. The great plants of Norway and Germany employ the Linde process, utilizing the Joule-Kelvin method of cooling, while most of the small laboratory plants employ the same method in the Hampson machine, built by the British Oxygen Company of London. There are also some small Linde machines in laboratories.

If nothing more than the liquefaction of air had been accomplished, the results are worth while, since the best method of separating nitrogen from the oxygen of the air is the process of liquefaction and separation of the components as they re-evaporate. The problem of procuring adequate supplies of nitrogen is becoming one of first rate importance. All vegetation and animal life requires nitrogen for growth. With few exceptions plants cannot take the nitrogen directly from the air, but must get it in the form of nitrates in the soil. Animals cannot take the nitrogen from the air but get it from vegetable matter for the most part. So nearly all life, while requiring nitrogen for growth, must find it in some utilizable form. Unfortunately, it is not very easy to form these compounds of nitrogen owing to the peculiar inertness of this element. Air is a mechanical mixture of nitrogen and oxygen and only under peculiar conditions do they unite to form a compound. A lightning flash does bring about a combination of these two elements which is washed down and in the earth it is transformed into a nitrate which can be utilized by the plant life. But obviously there is not very much formed in this manner. Acting on the hint given by the lightning, a practical process of making a compound of nitrogen and oxygen has been per-

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fected so that by means of an electric arc the same combination is produced. Thus, we have a possible source of nitrogen for fertilization of the soil.

The digging in of animal refuse to rot in the ground is the old way of supplying nitrogen. In this case, bacteria in the soil transform the refuse into ammonia which is oxidized into soluble nitrates. This kind of soil-feeding is slow and inefficient. Fallowing a field is for the purpose of renewing the nitrogen. The world's supply of natural fertilizers is limited and approaching exhaustion, so we turn to the other sources of nitrogen and find the best hope in the air, but, as indicated above, the nitrogen is not available in the pure state but must be "fixed." If coal could be burned in such a way that the nitrogen content could be "fixed" into ammonia as in the gas and coke works, a large source of supply would be available but that is hardly to be expected, at least in the near future, so we turn to the nitrogen of the air. Besides the electrical process mentioned, there are other processes, both electrical and chemical, for fixing the nitrogen once it is separated from the oxygen in the air.

If the air first be liquefied and then re-evaporated in a proper apparatus the two components may be separated to almost purity for each gas. The Claude machine delivers almost pure gases. Wherever power is cheap this industry becomes important. For the supply of nitric acid for the manufacture of explosives a nitrogen supply is needed and here is another important use of the air rectification plants. So, we find these fixation industries in various countries, and they have played an important part in the recent war.

But important as the practical applications of the subject are, the scientific possibilities are more interesting and perhaps more important for future applications. Many interesting phenomena appear if temperatures are lowered only a little. To the inhabitant of a warm country a strong continuous sheet of ice on a lake would be a real novelty to be known only from books and from the accounts of travellers. To us, solid mercury is a novelty, seen only in the very coldest weather of a Canadian winter, yet with solid carbon dioxide we may freeze mercury readily. [Experiment shown]. With temperatures no

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lower than those liquid air supplies, lead becomes like steel. We have only to think of what happens to steel when raised to red heat to complete the analogy—it becomes yielding as lead is at ordinary temperatures. In liquid air, alcohol may be frozen first to an intensely cold syrupy mass, finally to a solid. And many other interesting phenomena appear as the temperature is lowered.

But the cold of liquid air is far from being the lowest limit. It is only about two-thirds of the way to absolute zero. How shall we go lower? For a long time hydrogen defied all attempts to liquefy it but Sir James Dewar finally succeeded. The history of cryogenic laboratories tells of some dramatic events. For example, at the meeting of the French Academy on the twenty-fourth of December, 1877, a letter from Cailletet read as follows:

“I have to tell you first, and without losing a moment, that I have just this day liquefied oxygen and carbon monoxide.

“I am, perhaps, doing wrong to say liquefied, for at the temperature obtained by the evaporation of sulphurous acid, about -29° , and at a pressure of 300 atmospheres, I see no liquid, but a mist so dense that I infer the presence of a vapor very near its point of liquefaction.

“I write to-day to M. Deleuil for some protoxide of nitrogen, by means of which I shall be able, without doubt, to see oxygen and carbon monoxide flow.

“P.S.—I have just made an experiment which sets my mind greatly at ease. I compressed hydrogen to 300 atmospheres, and after cooling down to -28° , I released it suddenly. There was not a trace of mist in the tube. My gases, carbon monoxide and oxygen, are therefore about to liquefy, as this mist is produced only with vapors which are on the verge of liquefaction. The prediction of M. Berthelot has been completely realized.”

At the same meeting the following telegram was read:

“Geneva, December 22, 1877.

“To-day I liquefied oxygen at a pressure of 320 atmo-

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spheres, and a temperature of -140° , obtained by means of sulphurous and carbonic acids.

“Signed, RAOUL PICTET.”

Roscoe and Schorlemmer in their account of these observations, say:

“It is difficult, on reading the descriptions of these experiments, to know which to admire most, the ingenious and well-adapted arrangement of the apparatus employed by Pictet, or the singular simplicity of that used by Cailletet. The latter gentleman is one of the greatest of French ironmasters, whilst the former is largely engaged as a manufacturer of ice-making machinery, and the experience and practical knowledge gained by each in his own profession have materially assisted to bring about one of the most interesting results in the annals of scientific discovery.”

The final liquefaction of hydrogen by Dewar was another such event. After repeated attempts to liquefy this gas in different laboratories, the end was accomplished and a laconic telegram from Dewar in May, 1898, announced to the scientists at Leiden “Hydrogen liquefied.” Now, liquid hydrogen is a common sight in cryogenic laboratories.

If we try the method of Hampson and Linde, employing the Joule-Kelvin effect of expanding through a small orifice, we find that hydrogen is heated instead of being cooled. This was the difficulty Dewar had to overcome. He found that if hydrogen is first cooled in liquid air, then the expansion from high pressure produces a lowering of temperature as in the case of air and then the regenerative process may be employed and the hydrogen liquefied at -253° . At this appallingly low temperature air is a solid. A vessel containing liquid hydrogen may have frost collect on it, but this will be air frost, i.e. air that is frozen. If the hydrogen be evaporated at low pressure by a vacuum pump the temperature falls to -257° when the hydrogen freezes solid. By continued evaporation the temperature may be reduced further, to -259° .

Is this the end? Fortunately, there is one more gas, helium, of such peculiar properties that it is still gaseous at these low temperatures. And if cooled to -258° , it may then be

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expanded in the Hampson machine and cooled still further until it liquefies at -268.8° . It, in turn, may be cooled further by evaporation under reduced pressure and the temperature lowered still more. The lowest temperature was obtained by Onnes at Leiden when -271.9° was reached, only a little over one degree from the lowest temperature, but the liquid helium did not freeze. If helium behaves like other gases, it should be possible, by the process of boiling under reduced pressure, to lower the temperature until the liquid freezes. Experiments are in progress at Leiden to complete this work by utilizing a more powerful pump to lower the pressure and helium may be expected finally to succumb. This may be accomplished in the very near future. When we consider that fifty years ago helium was unknown on the earth, we can appreciate the magnitude of the undertaking to prepare some 300 litres of this rare gas for the experiments. The extraction of the gas and its purification occupied nearly three years.

Shall we have reached the lowest temperature when helium is solidified? We cannot answer with certainty, but unless another rare and less easily condensed gas is found, or some entirely new line of attack is developed, it is hardly probable that we shall get down to much less than one degree above absolute zero during the next ten years.

What has come out of this low temperature study save the gratification of a legitimate scientific curiosity? We have learned a great deal about the properties of matter. We have been able to generalize extensively and to see that the condition in which matter is found is largely a matter of temperature. Platinum, mercury, water, air, hydrogen and helium are alike in many respects if taken at the proper temperatures. There are differences, of course, between metals and non-metallic substances.

For specific lines of progress we may mention the subject of electrical conductivity in metals. We have known for many years that at high temperature metals conduct less readily than at low temperature. The low temperature investigations have shown us that this general law obtains down to very low temperatures, but in the region of helium temperatures a new and unexpected phenomenon appears that is bound to throw

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light on the mechanism of electrical conduction. At a few degrees above absolute zero, the resistance of a few metals, e.g., tin, lead and mercury, suddenly falls off to practically zero, i.e. the electrons pass through the metal with no evolution of heat as is usual in a conductor carrying a current. This is a remarkable phenomenon. For example, the resistance of lead at $-272^{\circ}\text{C}.$, is less than $1/100,000,000,000$ of what it is at $0^{\circ}\text{C}.$ Onnes calls this state, super-conducting.

A small coil of lead wire was made and immersed in liquid helium, the ends of the coil being first joined together. A current set up in this coil continued for hours without appreciable reduction. Ordinarily, the current would have dropped to zero in a few thousandths of a second. This is one of the most striking experiments of modern physics and it is no wonder that Professor Onnes speaks feelingly of its success. He said, "I knew the current must be there, but I could believe it only with difficulty even though I had calculated its value."

It seems to be proven beyond all doubt that magnetism is a property of exceedingly small particles of the magnet. For, if a magnet be broken in two, each portion is a magnet and this process may be continued almost indefinitely. It has been thought that the elementary magnets were the molecules, but with the dropping of the molecule from its position of good standing (at least in some solids), this theory must be modified. That the atom is not the magnetic unit is shown by the fact that certain alloys are highly magnetic, when the components are non-magnetic.

Then there is the so-called Law of Curie, which is a statement of a supposed connection between magnetic susceptibility and temperature to the effect that this susceptibility is inversely proportional to the absolute temperature. This law clearly is borne out by experiment in the cases of some substances, but there are notable exceptions, particularly at low temperatures, and a very great amount of work remains to be done. The various theories of magnetism require thorough examination, and experimental investigations are very necessary. Just as there is an ultimate electrical charge, the electron, so it is imagined by Langevin and Weiss that there is an ultimate magnetic quantity, the "magneton..... or unit magnetic moment.

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These magnetons are supposed to be due to the rotation of electrons in their orbits.

A similar theory has been proposed by Parsons, which suggests that the electron itself is magnetic and its magnetism is due to its rotation. Parsons imagines the electron to be in the form of a ring rotating on its axis with high speed. This ring is called, "the magneton," by Parsons. This magneton has the virtue of being easier to visualize. But all of these theories are incomplete and open to criticism. If the magnetic effects are electronic and affected as we know by temperature, we may hope that experiments, carried on at excessively low temperatures where the heat vibrations are very small, will lead to the clearing up of many difficulties. To paraphrase the words of a recent writer we may say that in magnetism we have a field of physics in which investigators have toiled for nearly a century, and all that we have are disconnected facts, a few scattered theories and a feeling of helplessness when we attempt to get a larger view of the facts and theories.

In the atoms of certain of the chemical elements, notably radium, there are changes that are peculiar. Occasionally one of these atoms loses one or more of its elementary charges. These elementary charges leave the parent atom with prodigious speed and cause the phenomena associated under the name radio-activity. These phenomena are electronic in origin and independent of the temperature. This suggests the view already mentioned that the vibrations of the atoms, which we call heat, do not control the motions of the electrons. This has been proved experimentally down to the temperature of liquid hydrogen. It would be interesting to push the experiment further and lower the temperature to the helium region. There is no reason to expect anything new, but there was no expectation of finding a super-conducting state.

One more question whose solution may appear with continued cryogenic experimenting is one raised by the density of liquid helium. We have good reason to believe that the element helium in the gaseous state is monatomic, i.e. its elementary particles are single atoms. Then its inertness, forming as it does no chemical combinations, indicates a comparatively simple structure. When liquefied at -268.8° the density of

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the liquid is .112. This density increases like that of other liquids when the temperature is lowered, but at about 2.35 degrees above absolute zero, this density becomes a maximum and at lower temperatures the density is actually smaller. Thus helium behaves like water at 4°C. where that liquid has its maximum density. This phenomenon needs interpretation and unless further experiments show the incorrectness of the conclusion stated above, we may expect to learn something from the fact that we have a maximum density with such a simple atom. So we may expect more light on all problems connected with atomic and electronic structure by investigation near absolute zero. It is true that in approaching this point we are near one of Nature's ultimates, perhaps nearer than to any other. As we approach the ultimate, new knowledge and interest increase and the horizon widens rapidly.

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Physical Laboratory,
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December 20, 1918.

THE EDUCATIONAL SURVEY OF SASKATCHEWAN.

IN an address on the floor of the Provincial Legislature of Saskatchewan on June 22nd, 1915, the Honourable Walter Scott, then Premier and Minister of Education, commenting on the need of certain reforms in the educational system, invited the expression of opinion through the press, by men who were engaged or interested in educational work in the province. The response to the invitation was so general during the ensuing year as to induce Premier Scott to declare June 30th, 1916, a public holiday for the purpose of affording throughout the province a more general opportunity for the discussion and recommendation of specific educational reforms. Within the next year public opinion had become set in a direction sufficiently distinct to warrant the legislature in taking definite action. On June 7th, 1917, an Order-in-Council was passed authorizing "a survey of educational conditions in the Province of Saskatchewan with special reference to rural schools," and authorizing also the appointment of Dr. H. W. Foght, Specialist in Rural School Practice, Bureau of Education, Washington, D.C., "to undertake the work of making the said survey." Resultant upon this order the field work of the survey was begun during the first week of August, 1917, and completed on the first of November. The completed report, embodying a statement of present educational conditions in the province, together with recommended reforms, and comprising in all 183 pages of printed and illustrated matter, was issued from the Government press at Regina in June, 1918, so that it has now been before the people for about six months. As this is the first instance of a provincial survey of this kind in Canada, and as the subject of education is one of general interest, it will be the object of the present article to give, as far as possible, some kind of succinct statement and estimate of the salient features presented in Dr. Foght's report.

The report falls naturally into two sections; an enumeration of the characteristics of the present educational system,

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accompanied by recommendations for specific reforms; and, a statement and discussion of the educational aims that are to direct the course of the proposed educational reforms. While these two aspects are interwoven with each other throughout the nineteen chapters of the report, they can, nevertheless, be easily enough separated for the purpose of clearness.

1. *Characteristic details of the present school system, and suggested reforms.* Among the characteristics of the present system the separate school situation is interesting, in view of the recent animated controversy on the question. The School Act makes provision for the establishment of a separate school *by a religious minority* in any school district. The purpose is to protect the rights of religious minorities; but the chief defect in the act as it now stands is that the members of any individual minority within the religious minority are deprived of their right of choice to support the public school. If, for example, in the case of a minority of fifteen in any school district, twelve were to vote for the establishment of a separate school, the remaining three would be obliged to support the separate school by taxes, even though they preferred the public school. The child's education is in this case determined by his religion, and not by his citizenship, so that the Act in this respect is mediaeval rather than modern in sentiment.

The actual separate school situation in the province at the present time, however, is, in Dr. Foght's opinion, "not an acute one." In 1905, when the province was organized, there were 887 public schools and nine separate schools—two Protestant and seven Roman Catholic. At the present time there are 4,138 public schools and 19 separate schools—4 Protestant and 15 Roman Catholic; an increase of 3,251 public schools and 10 separate schools in the intervening period of thirteen years.

The separate schools are on the same basis as the public schools with respect to government inspection, courses of study, compulsory attendance, training and certification of teachers. Roman Catholic separate schools, however, may use the *Canadian Catholic Readers* instead of the regular school readers; this is the only concession given.

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While personally averse to the policy of even minority separate schools, Dr. Foght, nevertheless, recommends for the Province of Saskatchewan the policy of patient waiting and education, rather than compulsory legislation, to bring about the desired condition of a uniform system of public school education.

In his chapter on "*The Organization and Administration of Schools*," Dr. Foght recommends that the present local school district and trustee board be abolished, and that all the schools within a given municipality be placed under a municipal board of five members, three of whom shall be elected by the people and two appointed by the Department of Education on the recommendation of the Inspector of Schools. The municipal board would then appoint a custodian for each school to report from time to time on its equipment, management, etc.

This recommendation, if adopted, would insure several things; the minimizing of petty local jealousies and friction that often hamper the work of the country school teacher; the correction of occasional local parsimony that too frequently deprives the pupils of a good teacher and the good teacher of a just salary; the procuring of a more efficient administration in the non-English school districts, districts which comprise, according to Dr. Foght's report, 45.5 per cent. of the population of the province; the opportunity of a more intelligent allocation of the teachers to the various schools within the municipality on the ground of mutual adaptation of teacher and school; a certain amount of co-ordination of effort among the schools toward a common end and the equalization of assessment, tax rate, and expenditure, for educational work within the municipality. This last condition, on the ground of simple equity, would be in itself a very desirable consummation. A recent statistical survey of the municipalities of Saskatchewan has shown that within a single municipality local school districts vary in the value of assessable property "from a few hundred dollars to many thousands," while in rate of taxation they vary from one to fifteen mills on the dollar.

These advantages are too obvious to be overlooked. Previous to the inauguration of the educational survey the De-

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partment of Education was already collecting data with a view to the enlargement of the unit of administration for rural schools, so that now, with the sanction of an officially appointed expert, the recommendation of Dr. Foght on this question will, in all probability, be incorporated in provincial legislation without unnecessary delay. Moreover, as the municipalities of Saskatchewan are of uniform shape and area—eighteen miles square—this step would procure a uniform geographic basis for rural school administration that would be very desirable in itself.

In the chapter dealing with the hygienic condition of the schools, some significant and rather distressing data are given. Out of 2,053 rural schools reported upon during the survey, more than fifty per cent. were in an unsanitary condition. Out of 2,273 rural school children examined by medical doctors during the survey, more than seventy per cent. were suffering from physical defects that could be cured by medical treatment. To remedy this evil, the report recommends the appointment of a school nurse in each municipality, who would devote her entire time to the children in the schools within the municipality. The need for this is too apparent to require discussion. The State of North Dakota adopted this policy four years ago, and has now a staff of forty-two rural school nurses. The Education Department of Saskatchewan has already made a beginning in the appointment of a general supervising school nurse for the province, *with two assistants*, and contemplates the rapid extension of the policy.

The Language question in the Schools. Statistics incorporated in the report show that only 54.5 per cent. of the population of Saskatchewan are of British (including Canadian) and Anglo-American origin. The remaining 45.5 per cent. are of foreign non-English origin. These figures give in a rough way the significance of the language problem in Saskatchewan public schools. Under the present School Act any foreign language may be taught in the public schools during the last hour of the school day. With the exception, however, of a limited concession made towards the French language, English is the only language to be used *as a medium of instruction*. Section 177 of the School Act reads:

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"All schools shall be taught in the English language, but it shall be permissible for the board of any district to cause a primary course to be taught in the French language."

The phrase "primary course" has never been defined, and has been variously interpreted to mean two, three or four years of the public school course.

In the non-English districts there has always been some tendency to take advantage of the act by extending the period of study of the foreign language beyond the one hour limit, and by using the foreign language as a medium of instruction. Just how far this has been done is difficult to discover, as reports are contradictory, and are too often exaggerated or diminished for political purposes. Dr. Foght recommends in his report that the act be amended so as to prohibit the study or use of any language other than English in the public schools during the regular school hours, and that the teaching or use of a foreign language in private or parochial schools "be reduced to a minimum." This same recommendation had already been made to the Government by an overwhelming majority of the trustees of the province at their annual convention in February, 1918.

It may be interesting to know that at the present moment the provincial legislature is engaged in the consideration of a bill for the amendment of the present School Act with regard to the language question. The bill which was brought down three days ago (December 18th), by the Hon. Mr. Martin, Premier and Minister of Education, reads as follows:—

177. 1. Except as hereinafter provided, English shall be the sole language of instruction in all the schools and no other language than English shall be taught during school hours.

2. Where it is necessary in the case of French-speaking pupils, by reason of their being unable to understand the English language, French may be used as the language of instruction, but such use of French shall not be continued beyond Grade I, and in the case of any child

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shall not be continued beyond the first year of such child's attendance at school.

3. When the board of any district passes a resolution to that effect, the French language may be taught as a subject for a period not exceeding one hour in each day as a part of the school curriculum, and such teaching shall consist of French reading, French grammar, and French composition.

4. Where the French language is being taught under the provisions of sub-section two or three hereof, any pupils in the school who do not desire to receive such instruction shall be profitably employed in other school work while such instructions are being given.

It is noticed in this amendment that, with the exception of French, all languages other than English are excluded completely from the public schools during school hours. The position of the French language has been reduced to a single year as a medium of instruction, and to one hour a day as a subject of study on the school curriculum. Mr. McLean, the leader of the Opposition, has introduced a counter amendment to exclude the French language also completely from the public schools. The bill, however, in its original form, passed the second reading on December 20th, with a vote of 48 to 4, the house dividing on party lines. The third reading of the bill will not take place until the house meets again on January 8th, 1919.

Other recommendations that cannot be enlarged upon here are,—increasing the number of school inspectors so as to permit of supervision and direction, as well as inspection of school work; the establishment of a branch of school architecture and sanitation in the Department of Education, and the organization of model schools, associated schools, consolidated schools, and municipal high schools in the rural districts; the abandonment of the present examination system in the schools; the establishment of a retirement plan for aged teachers; the gradual lengthening and differentiation of the normal school course; the establishment of specialized rural school departments in the normal schools; “modification of the

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curriculum and methods of teaching to allow for vocational contacts at every point"; introduction of pre-vocational courses in public and high schools; the introduction of school hygiene and sanitation as a regular subject of study in the elementary, secondary and normal schools; permissive legislation on health inspection and health instruction in the rural schools through the medium of school nurses."

Of the specific reforms recommended by Dr. Foght, these are among the most important. Although many of them were already under consideration by the provincial authorities, the survey will, nevertheless, be of very great value. The amount of data collected and organized in the report presents a body of very definite and concrete evidence that is altogether more convincing than the indefinite and haphazard evidence available before the survey was undertaken. Moreover, in the contemplated remedial legislation the Department of Education is now reinforced by the weight of outside opinion of recognized authority, so that there remains very little legitimate reason for further hesitation in carrying out many of the reforms which Dr. Foght has recommended.

II. *Educational Aims and Policy.* The specific reforms advocated by Dr. Foght and outlined in the preceding paragraphs are most of them sound and desirable, and ought to be incorporated in our system without unnecessary delay. It is when we come to his statement of the educational aims and policy that are to give direction to the steps of reform that we experience the first divergence of opinion. Here the proposed alteration is in the nature of revolution rather than reform; a shifting of the centre of our educational aims from its present basis in the essential and permanent nature of human *life itself*, to a new basis in the *particular occupation* which the people of Saskatchewan happen to be engaged in. The title of the second chapter of Dr. Foght's report indicates quite clearly in itself the proposed point of view; "Fundamental Educational Needs as Indicated by the Character and Resources of the Province." In the body of this chapter, and in many places throughout the report, he gives a more explicit and indubious statement of the new aims. "The primary and chief industry is agriculture. . . . The greatness of the pro-

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vince will ultimately be determined by the type of education found in rural districts. . . . Such a system of education as this does not limit its activities by the walls of the school or the covers of textbooks. The entire farm place with its manifold activities becomes a vital part of it; the industrial activities of the city become tied up with it—the business man, the bank president, the shop foreman, the practical scientist, the expert accountant, are all concerned in a modern system of education, and are, therefore, consulted to make the school a vital factor in life. Education such as this is the most 'cultural' in the world, if by culture is meant more than mere polish; for it is well to have in mind that education founded on real life purposes is the most genuinely cultured of all education. . . . Saskatchewan must evolve its own educational and race needs. Other considerations are secondary to these. . . . Agriculture must not be taught, as it so often is, as a patch on the old educational garment—it must become the warp and woof of a new educational cloth. The mother tongue, the social sciences, and the new agricultural sciences will form the nucleus of the study course. . . . Saskatchewan owes it to her children to see that this general education shall be based on real life, 'rooted to the soil,' as far as rural education is concerned, and 'welded to industry' as far as the cities are concerned." It is unnecessary to quote further.

The fundamental defect of Dr. Foght's report, in this respect, is that he has recommended the people of Saskatchewan to place second things first, and first things second, in their reformed schools. He recommends them to base their new system upon the dominant occupation of life, rather than upon the nature of life itself. The radical distinction which he draws between the city and the country school is an example of this. There should be some distinction here, no doubt, but that distinction, in any sound system, can be only a very secondary, and never a primary, one.

Those of us who heard Dr. Foght at the Provincial Convention of Teachers at Prince Albert in 1917 are not entirely surprised at this. His theory of education, as implied in his addresses there, corresponds with his printed report. Nevertheless, some of us felt, even while he spoke, that his own

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character and personality were larger than his formulated theory. I am not personally acquainted with Dr. Foght's biography so that I have no positive knowledge of his own education. But while listening to him there, and feeling the charm of his personality, with his genial and sympathetic outlook upon life, one had a growing suspicion that he himself had been nurtured upon diet more varied than that which he recommended to the children of Saskatchewan. This opinion is, of course, only a guess, an induction drawn from his personality in opposition to his educational theory, and so the guess may be wrong. Yet it is supported by one peculiar piece of collateral evidence arising out of the theme of his evening address on that occasion.

Those who heard that address will remember that he chose as the basis of his theme the story of *The Brown Mouse*. That now much quoted book is the story of an unusually gifted but rather uncouth young farm labourer who, by a happy accident, was appointed teacher of the district school. He had very clear notions of the practical needs of education, and in a short time had transformed the school from the traditional school of book knowledge to the modern and model rural school of scientific instruction in agricultural pursuits; into a school, to use his own words, "that would get education out of the things that the farmers and farmers' wives are interested in as a part of their lives . . . dairying, soil-management and corn-growing, farm manual training for boys, sewing, cooking and house-keeping for girls—and caring for babies," a school where they had "corn-club work, pig-club work, poultry work and canning-club work . . . wood-working, metal-working, blacksmith and wagon shop, and poultry plant," a school, he continues, "that would make good, contented farmers out of the boys, able to get the most out of the soil, to sell what they produced to the best advantage, and at the same time to keep up the fertility of the soil itself . . . a school that would teach the girls in such a way that they would be good and contented farmers' wives." The literature that used to be read in the old traditional schools was replaced in this school by the agricultural bulletins. "Why," asks the teacher triumphantly of the old-fashioned superintendent, "Why does it give the

children any greater mastery of the printed page—to read about *Casabianca* on the burning deck, than about the cause of the firing of corn by hot weather”?

One cannot but pause here to consider whether, in these modern times, the bulletin on the cause of the firing of corn by hot weather will actually take the place of *Casabianca* in our new rural schools.

But the peculiar point of contradiction in the whole educational scheme of this book, is the early education of the teacher himself, Jim Irwin; the teacher of the new-type school of practical and utility aims. What had distinguished him from the other boys, the “boys who played cards in hay-mows . . . and raided melon patches and orchards . . . and swore, and played pool in the village saloon”, what distinguished him from all these was the fact that “he had always liked to read, and had piles of literature in his attic room which was good, because it was cheap. . . He had Emerson and Thoreau, a John B. Alden edition of Chambers’ Encyclopedia of English Literature, some Franklin Square editions of standard poets in paper covers, and a few Ruskins and Carlyles—all read to rags.” He had been nourished, first, he says, “upon the school books”—this is the old-fashioned, traditional school—“which he mastered so easily and quickly as to become the star pupil of the district school, and later upon Emerson, Thoreau, Ruskin and the poets, and the agricultural reports and bulletins.” And again, “He was full of his Emerson’s Representative Men, and his Carlyle’s French Revolution, and the other old-fashioned good literature which did not cost over twenty-five cents a volume.” Again, when the author apologizes for his teacher’s unfamiliarity with the latest modern cut of clothes, he does so by the remark that “a boy who lives until he is nearly thirty in intimate companionship with Carlyle, Thoreau, Wordsworth, Shakespeare, Emerson, Professor Henry, Bailey, Hopkins, Dean Davenport . . . may be excused if his views regarding clothes have been derived in a transcendental manner from Sartor Resartus and the agricultural tests as to the relation between Shelter and Feeding.” Again of his knowledge of women, “He had looked long upon such women as Helen of Troy, Cleopatra, Isabel, Cressida, Volumnia, Virginia, Evan-

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geline, Agnes Wakefield and Fair Rosamond; but on women in the flesh he had gazed as upon trees walking."

This is, on the whole, a moderately rich and varied diet for a human mind, to be nourished upon in its early and plastic years. All, indeed, that could be desired; what one would call a liberal education. The boy of capacity who had been nourished to maturity upon this, will have an enlarged and discriminating outlook upon life that will not easily be deceived by baubles upon the near surface; and from these genuine and unfailing fountain-heads he will derive a steadiness and comprehensiveness of view that will include many utility aims as recognized means, not ends, in a sound system of education.

In the *Brown Mouse*—and this book is, in substance, the text of many of our practical educational reformers—the teacher's inspiring ability even in agricultural education came quite obviously, on the authority of the author himself, as a kind of natural by-product of the larger mental and spiritual nourishment outlined above. But now, by some peculiar shuffling of standards, so subtle as to deceive the author himself, when this teacher proposes his reformed type of rural school, this by-product of his own life is offered as the central substance of the whole scheme. This is the fatal flaw in the theory. Second things are raised into first place. It will hardly work. When Jesus exhorted his contemporaries to seek first the kingdom of God, assuring them that the other things—the utility ends—would be added naturally to this, he enunciated a fundamental law of human life; the law, namely, that the lower ends will come as a natural by-product of the higher, but never vice versa.

In this proposed new type of rural school education it is assumed that a man's own life, with its multitudinous impulses and infinite complexity of moral ends, may be understood and nourished and directed incidentally, while he is engaged in the study of his environment in the various processes of farming. The agricultural bulletins will give him the required knowledge of farming, but they will not give him the required knowledge of his own life, and, for that reason, they can never, in his education, take the place of those books which do give him that knowledge. The works of Emerson, of Car-

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lyle, and Wordsworth, and Shakespeare deal not with the occupations of life but with life itself, and, for this reason, they are the most practical of books. The most difficult practical problem we have is not the problem of making a living, though this is sometimes difficult enough; but the problem of living a decent life in our private and public relations, and the instruction of the mind and the bracing of the will for this problem, comes chiefly from the great books of literature.

One or two illustrations will make the point clear. The *Essays of Emerson* and the *Meditations of Marcus Aurelius*—to take one from the modern and one from the ancient world—have the very greatest practical value for every one who has what Stevenson calls “the gift of reading.”

“Envy is ignorance.” This is one of those startling and illuminating sentences of Emerson’s that pierces like Apollo’s arrow, to the centre. Only three words, and yet if mankind could come to understand it, believe it, and act in it, how changed would be this practical life we live from day to day, often in such a sorry fashion. This truth, once become vital and operative, would expand the actual compass of life by converting many a destructive and corrosive hour into a fruitful and expanding one, and would remove from the root an hereditary canker that so often blights and withers the fair and promising flowers of life.

Now turn to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. He is an ancient writer, and for that reason would not, we fear, be recommended in the new-type school. But ancient in time may be modern in import, and the reader may judge as he reads whether the thought is ancient or contemporary with his own. “Do not,” says he, “waste the remainder of thy life in thoughts about others, when thou dost not refer thy thoughts to some object of common good. For thou lovest the opportunity of doing something else when thou hast such thoughts as these. What is such a person doing, and why, and what is he saying, and what is he thinking of, and what is he contriving, and whatever else of the kind makes us wander away from the observations of our own ruling power. We ought, then, to check in the series of our thoughts everything that is without a purpose and useless, but most of all the over-curious and the

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malignant; and a man should use himself to think of those things only about which, if one should suddenly ask, What hast thou now in thy thoughts? with perfect openness thou mightest immediately answer, This or That; so that from thy words it should be plain that everything in thee is simple and benevolent, and such as befits a man."

If mankind could reach, or even approximate, the pattern of character which Marcus Aurelius delineates here, what a rich by-product of the utility kind would follow in the mere economy of time; to say nothing of the freedom and health it would bring to the life itself.

I have chosen these more obviously moral passages as best illustrating here the use of great books. Passages of finer poetic quality where the Beauty that blossoms from moral truth is the dominant quality rather than the moral truth itself; these have a deeper and more abiding power over us, though their value is not so easily demonstrated to the popular judgment. These books throw a direct light upon the central path of life itself, a light that is different in both aim and substance from the scientific knowledge of nature or of practical work.

Dr. Foght asserts that the new educational system will "not limit its activities by the walls of the school or *the covers of text-books*." This latter is an example of those grossly deceptive catch-phrases which the "practical educationist" uses so often and so effectively to confuse the popular judgment. The writer knows very well, or ought to know, that the substance of a book is not of that material sort that can be confined within "the covers." The fundamental characteristic of the human mind is that it can live in a larger realm than that in which the body moves, and books are the natural roads, and the only ones, to that larger world. He recommends a course of study that will "return the rural youth to the farm in harmony with it, ready and willing to live happy, remunerative lives on the land." To this end he prescribes a "practical education," one "based on real life—rooted to the soil." Granting the desirability of this so far as the "local habitation" is concerned, can it be accomplished by the means recommended by Dr. Foght; by the establishment of a "practical educational

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system" based on real life—"rooted to the soil"? Is the mind also to become "rooted to the soil," circumscribed by the horizon of the senses? We think that this is as impossible as it is undesirable. The boy's natural desire for that larger life of the spirit will lead him to wander away from the farm in quest of it, if his education does not bring it to him on the farm through the world of books.

The boy who has learned to read in the public school, and has settled to work on the farm at fifteen, may, by means of a hundred selected books, "extend the walls of his farm cottage to the dimensions of the world." In a democracy, this is a primary birth-right of every boy and girl, whether in the country or the city; a right to the avenues of that knowledge which will enlarge his life at its soul and centre. To provide the means for this larger life of the mind and spirit is the primary function of any sound system of education. To provide the tools for making a living, as the necessary means to this higher end, is the secondary function, and ought to be included as the natural auxiliary to the first, and not as a substitute for it.

The reformed school, however, proposed for Saskatchewan reverses all this. It is to be one in which, as the pupil in the *Brown Mouse* says, "all the things we do helps to make a living," where "we study the things that can be seen and hefted and handled and tasted and heard," assuming, evidently, that such intangible things as moral ideas are either unimportant or will incidentally take care of themselves. To conclude, in this modern school, in the words of the teacher "we must have first things first. Making a living is the first thing—and the highest." Then we would have, he continues, "a school which would be in the highest degree cultural by being consciously useful and obviously practical."

This, then, is the new type of education recommended to the people of Saskatchewan, an "education founded on real life purposes." Granting the soundness of the standard, there still remains the question, What are the real life purposes? Dr. Foght has not left us in doubt regarding his answer to the question. In an agricultural country like Saskatchewan, agri-

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cultural pursuits, according to his report, are the real and primary life purposes; "all others are secondary to these." But this is just where the crucial question lies: Whether a man's profession is more important and more primary than his life? In the old story of the successful farmer who produced more grain than his barns would hold, it was pointed out that a man while succeeding in his farming, may at the same time be losing his life. Here, at least, the knowledge of how to live was primary, how to farm secondary. Plato held the same view, that life was more important than his accessories. Is the situation reversed now? Germany came to think so, and has given the world a colossal illustration of the suicidal nature of that view. Her sudden and total collapse at the end demonstrates again the soundness of Matthew Arnold's words, that moral, and not physical, causes determine the rise and fall of nations. Moral ends are the central and determining factors of life, a man's or a nation's; which means that the central aim of all educational systems, whether in city or country, ought to be the same, namely, the cultivating of the moral sense and the clarifying of moral aims. This, not through preaching in schools, but through larger and more intimate knowledge of that literature which gives breadth and direction of life by deepening and purifying the thoughts, passions and feelings, that are

"Essential and eternal in the heart."

Complementary to this necessity for knowing his own life is the necessity for knowing the world, that disinterested study of nature, not for the material remuneration it may bring, but for the delight that accompanies the projection of the mind in discovery, that the boy finds in the return of the birds in spring, and Darwin in the evolution of a world. These are the primary aims in all education. The city and the country may divide in their secondary aspects into farming and commerce, but not to the extent of weakening the primary ones.

The present article does not attempt any definite suggestions in the way of reform. The object has been, rather, to construct some single view of the whole complex situation. To get on at all in vital reforms one must first see the

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whole field in perspective, so that one may know where the primary emphasis is to be placed, and where the secondary. The various details may then be filled in in their just proportions. To the revolutionary in education who desires some new thing to be substituted at once for the old, this consideration of the larger phases of the problem and of the true adjustment of details may seem to be too slow a process. But the problem of education, as of life, is an enormously complex one, and in our impatience for quick and calculable results we may be lured aside by the appearance of progress and miss the reality. "Without haste, without rest" is a motto valuable to the educationist in proportion to his desire of reform.

Matthew Arnold prefaced his *Report to the Education Commission* of England in 1861 with the following words: "*Da mihi, Domine, scire quod sciendum est*, 'Grant that the knowledge I get may be the knowledge which is worth having!' The spirit of that prayer ought to rule our education." Dr. Foght writes in his introductory paragraphs, "Every school, whether in Saskatchewan or elsewhere, should teach just what a modern population craves to know, in order to get the greatest good out of life." The difference in reach of view is significant. Arnold's recommendations, corresponding with his view, included a course of study in the language and literature of ancient Greece and Rome, because of the important lessons which these have for the modern student who is endeavouring to know his own life through a knowledge of the capabilities and achievements of the human spirit. Dr. Foght speaks cursorily of "ancient language and certain other subjects now required, but which have no place in the proposed rural high school course." Many of the specific reforms advocated in the report would, as has been pointed out above, be of the greatest value; but as one reads through the report he is oppressed with a growing sense of how "cabin'd, cribb'd, confined" the human spirit would become if reared in such a system as outlined there; and how "leaden-eyed" Saskatchewan's next and second generations would become in the contemplation of the world if such a system could be thoroughly established. In revolt from the prospect one turns instinctively to Wordsworth's choice,

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Great God! I'd rather be
A Pagan, suckled in a creed outworn;
So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn;
Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea;
Or hear old Triton blow his wreathed horn.

R. A. WILSON.

Saskatoon.

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Bourgeois and Bolshevist.

THE BOURGEOIS.

THE middle-class society which rose into power in Britain and France during the early decades of the nineteenth century has a long list of achievements to its credit. Its type of civilization spread to most civilized countries bringing with it the same kind of freedom and fostering the same spirit of economic and humanitarian progress which characterized it in its original homes. Much later in the century the influence of the United States and also of the great British colonies, all genuine descendants of Anglo-Saxondom in their social institutions, was a powerful reinforcement to this middle-class civilization and added, moreover, a touch of democratic humanity which made it more flexible. And there was great need of the reinforcement, for in the seventies one of the pillars of European democracy, France, had suffered a great loss of prestige. Many of her eminent thinkers, like Taine and Renan, not to mention equally eminent names in the Catholic reaction, had begun to question the value of the results of the great Revolution. Most significant of all was the strong and highly intellectual reaction which had its centre in Germany. From that quarter came a sharp and profound criticism of all the characteristic principles and tendencies of middle-class civilization as it had established itself in the great democracies. Its views of representative government, of majority rule and Parliamentary rights, its views of the constitutional limitations of monarchy and of the functions of the state, its policy in trade and war, its combination of utilitarian motives with sentimental humanitarianism and superficial religion, its speculative timidity (in the philosophic sense), its illogical and hypocritical compromises, all these were analysed and exposed with the patient thoroughness of the German mind. Of course there was much truth in it, the truth which there is in any criticism which contrasts a practical working system with

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logical perfection. There was even more truth in it than that. The middle-class had its special weaknesses and the civilization it had created was beginning to be deeply tainted by them.

The great political creation of the middle-class was Parliamentary government, originally a weapon against despotic monarchs which England had been slowly forging and tempering since the seventeenth century, but in its later development a remarkably flexible and comprehensive means of finding and expressing the collective wisdom and experience of the nation. It was no longer the organ of the middle-class alone as it had once been, a wide franchise had made it capable of representing all classes. But just as important were the social ideals and tendencies which middle-class civilization brought with it. These were in many ways an advance on the standards of the past. I don't mean that they were new ideals in the history of humanity but that they now, for the first time, got that kind of recognition which made them dominant elements in civilization. Respect for freedom of thought and conscience, respect for freedom of speech, a humanitarian dislike of government by violence and bloodshed, a new sense of responsibility for the condition of the poor, a disposition towards a mild rather than a severe administration of penal laws, these features distinguish sharply middle-class civilization from that of all the societies that preceded it. Of course the application of these principles was never absolute and unlimited. It never can be in human affairs. It was limited at times by the necessities of State, it might be thwarted at times by class interests, or racial and religious prejudice, but on the whole it went forward as steadily as the mixed and highly complicated nature of modern society permits, with results which are obvious to all to-day. You have only to contrast it with the methods of Prussia before the war or with those of the workmen's republic in Russia to-day.

This middle-class civilization was in the main the work of what I may call Liberalism, it was inspired by it even when it was carried out by political parties of another name. For a time, therefore, especially in England, Liberalism was closely associated, almost identifiable with the power and influence of the manufacturers and business men that constituted the

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strongest section of the party. It inevitably adopted their economic creed. The most practical achievement of the middle-class has been their economic development of the life of nations. Production, transportation, exploitation of all resources have been carried to a point undreamed of before. Great wealth was accumulated and while much of it went to improve, little by little, the living conditions of millions of workers, a good part of it was more obviously consolidated in the mansions and parks and money power of the employers. It was a civilization largely based on business activity and—at a time when the direct power of both the aristocracy and the church had receded—it drew most of its principles, even its humanitarian and philanthropic ones, from association with business activity. This side of it was the inspiration of men like Bright and Cobden. The wealthy and energetic manufacturer like Mr. Milbank in Disraeli's *Coningsby* was highly conscious of his usefulness as a creator of employment and activity in contrast with the idle aristocrat of that time who was a rival power in the district. He was proud of his ability, his diligence, his rectitude in the market. 'Free competition and private enterprise' were his watchwords, for he was in a good position to compete, England's coal mines being behind him and the Englishman's long training in self-government. Some after-glow of that ideal lived down to our own time gilding on this continent the magnificent operations of a Rockefeller and a Morgan with a heroic Napoleonic splendour in the eyes of the public. Then the wind blew—*Spiravit Deus*—in 1907; the currents of popular sentiment changed and all this activity became associated with reproach, almost with ignominy. Exploitation was the complaint, and most of the great chiefs in the business world had to appear at the bar of Justice like criminals.

The basic principle of this middle-class society was Utilitarianism. It had its great prophets in Mill and Spencer and produced a powerful school of thought as admirable for its exposition of economic system as it was weak in its perception of the manner in which other elements must be blended in social organization to make it work healthfully and happily. It is true, the middle-class in spite of its business utilitarian-

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ism had preserved a considerable respect for what it considered sound tradition and being as a class naturally inclined to compromises and concessions, it applied its utilitarian principle with liberality enough to find a place for literature and art, for humanitarian and philanthropic ideals, but these were really only adjuncts, outside elements added to its system, not an organic or vital part of it. This was the real point in Ruskin's criticism of it, a point mostly missed both by his economic and his aesthetic critics. In the same way it maintained religious tradition, though every decade that passed was making clearer the gulf between that and the principles by which it lived and worked. That inconsistency, however, is in a way natural to humanity, being akin to the difference between an ideal rule and the frailty of human practice. But the gulf got very wide indeed and hostile critics like the Germans and Red Socialists began, from their different points of view, to brand the religion of "the bourgeois" as mere hypocrisy. But it was not that, it was still a kind of limiting principle in middle-class civilization, especially in its humanitarian aspects, and distinguishes it sharply from the cynical ruthlessness of a Junker or Bolshevist society.

Of course Utilitarianism may be explained so as to include every virtue under the sun, "all the permanent interests of man as a progressive being," as Mill defines it in a comprehensive yet subtly qualified phrase; but as you see clearly in its theories of education it can include them only as elements subordinate to its own principle. It tends therefore in actual operation to establish materialistic values and standards for society, all the more that its original formula, the happiness of the greatest number, can be readily used to reduce society to its lowest terms. Societies seem to perish mostly by pushing the principle on which they rest to an extreme, and utilitarianism soon began to show deterioration in its own region of economics where a high ideal of individualism had been expounded and defended by Mill. But *corruptio optimi pessima*. Free competition became first fierce competition then unscrupulous and fraudulent competition. At first a healthy stimulant, it became a cut-throat form of struggle, leading to a general riot of overreaching, deception of the public, manipu-

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lation of markets and gross forms of puffing and advertising. In self-defence big business had to take to the form of large trusts and combinations tending to become unassailable monopolies. Many of them, no doubt, were honest with the public; others were notoriously not so. There was a partial attempt on the part of Government to break them up which does not seem to have resulted in any practical benefit to the public as far at least as profiteering is concerned. The virus has spread too widely. From every side come tales of extortion; Government Reports from Ottawa and Washington compile formal records of them.* Instead of services to the community, profit to the individual has become the one consideration in business. The ordinary tradesman would be amazed to hear of any other principle involved in his existence. What he can exact from the helplessness of the buyer is his standard. Hundreds of illustrations are within the experience of every one. It would be a nice business for the economist to classify and illustrate all the subtle forms of "exploitation" which are current in our life. Twenty-five years ago I took an Investment Insurance policy from a Toronto Company. Their agent's estimates, given in a formal document, were that at the end of 20 years I might withdraw a cash surplus of \$3,356 or receive an annuity of \$260. I had the document sent up to the Head Office and countersigned as "correct" in its estimates by the General Manager. But when the policy matured, all the Insurance Company actually offered me was \$621 of cash surplus or an annuity of \$60. The Manager who had countersigned the estimates was dead, and I could get no interview with his successor, but the Actuary coolly told me, when I threatened a lawsuit, to go ahead, they had a fund for fighting such cases. Of course I know estimates are estimates, but the case is illustrative of the spirit in which business has been conducted. It was simply a way of cutting out more scrupulous companies.

This disease to which our middle-class civilization is so peculiarly susceptible was long ago diagnosed as a deadly one

The case, for example, of the Ottawa restaurant making a profit of \$4.90 on every pound of bacon used by its customers.

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by such thinkers as Carlyle, Froude and Ruskin, but it suited the views of neither of the great political parties nor those of political publicists and economists to give any support to such teaching. What professor of economy would ever think of prescribing Ruskin's *Unto This Last* for his students' reading; or of insisting on the *truths* it expresses? If he mentions it at all, it is probably to notice with a sneer some inadequacy in a definition or some antiquated appeal, as he thinks, to the wisdom of Dante or of the Bible. But Ruskin's views formulate exactly the questions which have become the urgent problems of civilization to-day while Mill's fundamental principles have become nearly as useless as the steam machinery of his time. The principles of the older school of Liberalism indeed were distinctly on the other side. The following paragraph from one of Froude's essays will illustrate the situation out of which the storm-clouds of to-day have arisen:

It was proved, in the *Lancet*, after a series of elaborate investigations, that the smaller retail trade throughout the country was soaked with falsehood through and through. Scarcely one article was sold in the shops of the poor, which was really the thing it pretended to be. . . . Attention was called to the subject in the House of Commons by Lord Eustace Cecil; and perhaps of all the moral symptoms of the age, the most significant is the answer which was given on that occasion by the President of the Board of Trade. The poor were and are the chief sufferers by fraud of this kind. Mr. Bright has risen to distinction as the poor man's friend; and those and analogous complaints, with the general approbation of his party, he treated with impatient ridicule. He spoke of adulteration as a natural consequence of competition. He resisted inquiry. "Adulteration," he said, "arises from the very great and perhaps inevitable, competition in business, and to a large extent it is promoted by the ignorance of customers." He looked for a remedy in education, which would enable the poor to take care of themselves.†

Mr. Bright came of a family of Lancashire manufacturers and his speech no doubt reflects their special prejudices against any governmental interference with trade, but it also reflects

†Froude. *Short Studies on Great Subjects*: (England and her Colonies).

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very clearly the influence of an economic creed which tended always to leave it an open question "whether the general welfare will or will not be promoted" by such interference and tended to answer it in the negative where it possibly could. To Froude, on the other hand, the case for interference was as clear as if it were a case of burglary. The one man thought mainly of the interests of trade, the other of the moral health of the nation. But it is true that to Bright and his school the vigorous expansion of trade was an exact measure of the national health..

We have got the length now of punishing adulteration of food and some other gross forms of swindling. Wherever the Government can go effectively, it is now willing to go. But there is a widespread greed and unscrupulousness in the modern business spirit which the Government cannot reach and does not know how to deal with. Only business men themselves, headed by the bigger and wiser amongst them, could set about reforming it. A league for that purpose might be as useful as any league of all the nations is likely to be at present. I am not sure but it is the more pressing need of the two. The point Carlyle and Ruskin insisted on is the essential one. Respect for the principles on which society is based is the only thing which can hold a free society together. Indeed that has always been the necessary condition of a stable society, whether it was a Jewish theocracy, a Roman aristocracy, or a mediaeval feudalism. When that respect begins to fail, the chaotic flood of Revolution is not far off. All Eastern Europe is already engulfed in its wild waters. It is very evident that the thoughtful heads in the Government and in big business are alive to the danger in one direction, that which is connected with the growing demands of organized labour. They seek to meet it by constantly greater concessions with regard to wages and hours. But there is no ultimate salvation on that line. It becomes a vicious circle. The wage increases tend to make themselves general and prices go up with wages. Besides, it is a remedy dependent on certain conditions of prosperity, and one which may have a disturbing effect on the social condition of other classes. In any case concessions of thirty or forty dollars a week are not going to satisfy men

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for ever, who see many others making five hundred or a thousand dollars a week, not if it is a mere question of economics and using the advantage of position to extort all one can. Nothing but respect for the honesty of the means by which the superior position is acquired can still the envy of the labouring millions or give the superior minority the moral power to defend and maintain that position as a rightful one. That is about all, any way, that the most radical revolution can achieve for the working masses. The rest is a change of names: Haase sitting in the gilt chair of the Chancellor's Palace instead of von Bethman-Hollweg. A helpful use of wealth must also count greatly in giving stability to society, especially with those who understand the many subtle values to be preserved in a high civilization. In all ages private wealth has done much to enrich life that the State cannot do and will not do. Even Greece owed its great drama to that source.

This is a source of unrest which may give Bolshevism its best recruits. Every manifesto the Bolshevist issues appeals to the need of emancipating the people from what he calls the exploitation of capital. He speaks of course from a point of view opposed to the existence of capitalism in any form, but what gives point to his appeals is the unscrupulous use of capital. Profiteering may be difficult to define, as motion is in metaphysics, but we all know that like motion it exists none the less and no ratiocinations are going to cover up its character any longer. The word itself is a new addition to our vocabulary and marks the new consciousness of the age in such things.

I was breakfasting in one of the big New York hotels last week, when the waiters' strike was impending. I got on as good terms as I could with the waiter who served me in order to get him to talk freely. He was a foreigner and of the sensitive, hot-headed type that will say everything that is in his mind if you can once start him. "What's the trouble," I asked, "wages?"—"Yes, and the way we are treated, worked like slaves."—"Well, you are on your feet a good deal, of course," I said sympathetically, "but I don't suppose your work is really as hard as that of the Irish porter who brought my trunk up and he seems very cheerful and contented."—"Ah, the Irish,"

he said, "they get all the good things in New York, they are on the top in politeecs. That's why . . . But all they pay me is \$1.20 a day:"—"But you make a good deal more in tips, don't you?"—"Yes, perhaps two or three dollars more."—"And sometimes four or five or six more," I suggested.—"Yes, sometimes," he admitted, "if you are a favourite of the head-waiter's, you can make that, he gives you the best guests; if you're not, you get only the tight wads and ladies staying in the hotel." And at this point, the head-waiter being out of sight, he lifted the discourse into high politics. "It is the seestemm," he said with emphasis. "The seestemm is bad. Now, you pay the bus driver that brings you here; you tip the porter that handles your luggage and the bell-boy that takes you to your room, and the chambermaid. They (meaning the hotel ownership) make you pay their servants," he said, trying to enlist my sympathies on this side; "they have raised the price of the rooms and the food; they make you pay \$1.20 for those seven small thin slices of bacon at breakfast; they call it a double portion," he added satirically; they make 500 per cent. on the drinks they serve; they build more big houses, palaces, for themselves than they can live in, but they haven't raised our wages. They want you to pay that too."—"Still," I ventured to remark, "with five and sometimes six dollars a day and your food, you are pretty well off for a young unmarried man."—"It is the seestemm that is bad," he repeated moodily, and as the system just then made its appearance in the shape of the head waiter stepping inquisitively towards us, he hurried away. But I had gathered enough from his talk to suspect that if they trebled his wages, he would know how to exact his tips all the same. What he really felt was that the hotel owners were exploiting the situation as much as they possibly could and that he had as good a right to do the same.

The abuse of a system is sure to bring about a radical change unless a timely remedy is found for it. If it cannot be remedied it is a sign that it is worn out. When the prices of milk and ice began to soar in New York, the Mayor had to threaten to set up municipal establishments for those commodities. The working men may begin to take the matter in their own hands in a spirit and on a scale marking a long

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Marxian advance on the simple economic ideas of the old co-operative societies. The other day I received a Prospectus from a co-operative society formed by working men. It starts off straight with the complaint that "the capitalist or competitive system" has taught the trader to think only of the profit he can make and not at all of the services he owes to the community and has led, therefore, to combinations "to increase prices artificially."

There will be no successful reply to that criticism unless our great mercantile middle-class will seriously take in hand to reform the spirit of modern trading and make it evident to the public that it is doing so. And I should think that is not beyond the power of the able and energetic men who are at the head of the system, the president and directors of banks, railways, industries, department stores and the like. Will they get together in a "gentlemanly agreement" for that end? A democratic party government, one sees, is as good as helpless in such matters. It does not dare to go far enough, and we don't want the barbarism of a Bolshevik rule. It is long ago now since Ruskin wrote:: "It is the merest insolence of selfishness to preach contentment to a labourer who gets thirty shillings a week, (*say nowadays, a hundred*) while we suppose an active and plotting covetousness to be meritorious in "a man who has three thousand a year."*

THE BOLSHEVIST.

The victory of the Entente Allies and the consequent withdrawal of the German pressure on Russia have given the Bolsheviks a new standing in the world and a kind of credit which they certainly would never have attained under the heavy hand of an undefeated Germany. The treaty of Brest-Litovsk is torn up and the heads of the Central Soviet are no longer receiving—and meekly obeying—orders from officers of the German General Staff.† Already they are showing what they understand by the free self-determination of peoples by send-

**Time and Tide*. Letter II.

†See the documents sent to Washington by Mr. Sisson and published in *Current History* of the New York Times for December.

ing armies into Esthonia and Poland to terrorize these districts into their way of thinking. The casual correspondents of some well-known newspapers are again beginning to express their views that there is something in Lenine and Trotsky after all. Even Maxim Gorky, who a little while ago was protesting against their doings as those of ignorant surgeons experimenting recklessly with their patient, seems inclined to change his tune, at least to the extent of barring outside interference. Their fatuity in negotiation with the Germans seems forgotten as well as their treachery and hardly concealed malice towards the Allies. The Bolshevist held up his hands at once wherever the German armies appeared and did whatever he was bidden to do whether it was to give up a province of Russia or pay an indemnity, or tie up what was left of his country for the commercial exploitation of Germany. But he is quite aware of a certain embarrassment the Entente democracies have in dealing effectively with him and means to take full advantage of it. The social idea which inspires him is as hostile to the constitutional democracy of Britain, France or America as the republicanism of the French revolutionaries was to the old monarchies of Europe. It is a grandiose idea, that of a new Labour civilization created by Russia and to be spread over Europe, over the world. It is the new holy mission of Russia, Dostoieffsky's old idea put into a definite form, with a definite programme. It is quite possible the Bolshevist leaders have succeeded in inspiring the masses behind them with an enthusiasm for this ideal equal to that which the old Panslavism used to generate in Russian hearts. At bottom it may be much the same spirit and is likely to be an even greater terror to neighbouring countries than the old Imperialism was. It is in the very nature of such a movement to seek to extend its conquests with the religious ardour of Islam or of the French Revolution in their early days. Indeed it can hardly help it. It is doubtful if a country all whose industries from manufacturing, banking and farming to selling groceries are to be conducted by committees of working men, popularly elected, could compete on any terms with countries organized on what the Bolshevist calls the bourgeois or capitalist system. In order to live Bolshevism

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must make itself universal and it will make every effort to do so.

We know little of what is taking place in Russia. Bolshevik censorship is a model. A little ahead, I should say, of the Inquisition in its best days. Freedom of speech is a bourgeois idea for which they have no particular use in a Soviet Republic. Rumours, however, do reach us of conflicts in the streets and of peasant risings fiercely suppressed. Indeed one can imagine the thrifty Russian farmer will have difficulty in appreciating his "new liberty" when the Government announces there is to be a "merciless" requisitioning of his grain and the local Soviets take a walk over his fields with an eye to their just re-distribution next year. But it is impossible to conceive the condition of a country where individual property and inheritance have been abolished and where all laws that the Soviet dictators may consider to be inconsistent with Soviet principles are *ipso facto* repealed. It is evident that the Bolshevik government is keeping a considerable force of soldiers in every district, a Bolshevik garrison for the suppression of all opposition, and I see in one of their Decrees that such troops are to elect two representatives to the local Soviet for every company or squadron stationed in the place. Lenin and Trotzky seem to have got rid of property but they don't seem to have been equally successful with the old enemies of militarism and bureaucracy that they used to denounce so fervidly. Of course there has been and will continue to be the confusion, violence and widespread misery which accompany great revolutions. "The soldiers are frantic with their new liberties and understand nothing"—so a Russian colonel told the Princess Cantacuzene. Whether it can settle down into anything workable, no one can tell. There was published recently in the international section of *The Nation* a pretty full collection of Soviet constitutional Decrees. I note the following points as indicating what is new in this great social experiment:—

1. *Property.*

"Private ownership of land is abolished. All forests, minerals and waters . . . all estates and agricultural enterprises . .

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all factories, mills, mines, railways, and other means of production and transportation . . . all banks" are transferred to the ownership of the Soviet Republic.

2. *Industrial organization.*

"For the purpose of the organization and regulation of the entire economic life . . . there are organized district Boards of National Economy." These are to work "under the district and local Soviets." Their membership consists of (a) representatives elected by workmen's committees, (b) representatives elected by the district Soviets of soldiers and workmen, (c) "representatives of the technical and commercial management of enterprises (numbering not more than one-third of the entire membership of the Board)." The District Boards will be "directed by the Supreme Council of National Economy" and be "under the general control" of the Central Soviet.

The typical form of representation in the Soviets for the smaller cities is as follows:—

"Every enterprise employing 100 persons sends one representative."

"Enterprises employing less than 50 persons combine, if possible, with other small kindred enterprises and send a common representative to the Soviet."

"The soldiers of a local garrison send to the Soviet their representatives on the following principle: each company, squadron, command, etc., elects two representatives to the Soviet; clerks, horse reserves and other small units, send one representative each." [*Our new Potsdam Grenadiers and Royal Bodyguards.*]

A presidium or chief executive of five (a chairman, two vice-chairmen and two secretaries) is elected as "the directing organ of the Soviet." It meets four times a week and "decides independently all matters which cannot suffer delay."

3. *Bureaucracy.*

The local Soviets are declared to be "quite independent in regard to questions of a local character," but must always act "in accord with the decrees of the Central Soviet Government as well as of the larger bodies, the district provincial and regional Soviets, of which they form a part."

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The Central Administration for any industrial line has entire control of its exports and imports and the provision of its raw material and machinery. It can compel "the higher personnel" of an establishment to work in the places they occupy. It can also sequester the enterprises of any establishment not yet nationalized [*no objection to bureaucratic control, evidently when it is in our own hands!*]

4. Law.

"All existing general legal institutions, such as district courts, courts of appeal, commercial courts, etc., are abolished and replaced by courts established on the basis of democratic elections. . . . Local judges are henceforth to be elected on the basis of direct democratic vote. . . ."

"All laws are considered annulled which contradict the decrees of the Central Executive Committees," the programmes of the Labour and Socialist-Revolutionary parties or offend "the revolutionary conscience and revolutionary conception of right."

Special "Revolutionary Tribunals" are established for the trial of proceedings against profiteering, speculation, sabotage and other misdeeds of merchants, manufacturers, officials and other persons" . . . and for "the struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces." [*Practical revival of the old and much denounced Star-Chamber, absorbed, too, from all legal and constitutional precedents.*]

5. Censorship of Press and Publications.

An extra-special "Revolutionary Tribunal" is created for the control of the Press, or, as the Bolshevik Decree puts it, for "crimes and offences against the people committed by means of the press." It consists of three members chosen by the Soviet who conduct both the investigation and the trial of the case. Its decisions "are final and are not subject to appeal."

The works of any author may be transferred from private to public ownership . . . and be declared a Government monopoly. . . . The Government may publish a "scientific" or an "abbreviated edition" of such works "to be sold at cost and even below cost."

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The Government is also "to see to the publication of all sorts of text-books" and it may "subsidize publications useful to the general public."

[A very rigorous censorship and a most ingenious form of control. The Government may declare the works of any author it does not approve of a Government monopoly and publish them only in a specially edited or abbreviated form, or even not publish them at all. This has our poor old despotisms with their Imprimaturs and Index Expurgatorius beaten hollow].

6. Marriage.

Civil marriage is made obligatory and is the only kind recognized by the Government. An oral declaration at the city hall from the pair is sufficient. It may also be written.

Marriage may be annulled by the local judge on the mutual consent of the parties or on the petition of one of them. The judge may also determine all questions regarding the maintenance of wife and children.

"Children born out of wedlock are on an equality with those born in wedlock both with regard to the rights and duties of parents towards children, and of children toward parents." *[The Bolshevik attempt to settle the great sexual question. All Ibsenite reclamations for moral freedom and Women's Rights oratory are made antiquated at a stroke by these decrees and the one following on inheritance. The need of that declaration at the City Hall is not quite apparent.]*

7. Inheritance.

"Inheritance whether by law or by will is abolished. After the death of an owner, the property which belonged to him, whether movable or immovable, becomes the property of the Government." Full or half brothers and sisters and the wife of the deceased, if they are incapable of work, may "receive support from the property left by the deceased." . . . "No distinction is made here between the relationship that arises within wedlock and that which arises outside of wedlock."

[The great redeeming altruistic spring of energy and loving sacrifice in the ordinary man is destroyed, the providing for the future of his children.]

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8. *Control of Farming.*

An end must be put to the greed of grain-profiters, the Soviet Decree of May 14, 1918, declares. The Central Executive Committee therefore decrees:

"Confirming the fixity of the grain monopoly (of the Government) and fixed prices, and also the necessity of a merciless struggle with grain profiteers, to compel each grain-owner to declare the surplus above what is needed to sow the fields and for personal use . . . until the new harvest and to surrender the same within a week after the publication of this decision in each township." One half the value of concealed surpluses is to be paid to the person who gives information of them to the Revolutionary Tribunal. The penalty for concealment of surplus grain is imprisonment for not less than ten years and confiscation of the entire property of the guilty.

[The language of this Decree reveals and indeed openly admits the existence of a bitter struggle between the farmers of the townships and the rule of the Soviets. The Decree denounces the farmers as "bourgeoisie" and incites the "poorer peasants" to a "merciless struggle" against them.]

9. *Labour*

All establishments are subject to the eight-hour law for labour, and no one is permitted to work for hire before the age of 15. Next year the age limit will be raised to 20. (Decree of October 29, 1917).

[This looks as if the Bolshevik meant to have a high grade of education for every one.]

There is, of course, no provision in the Soviet decrees for the summoning of a Parliament or national assembly to give a general expression to the opinion of the nation. On the contrary, the Bolshevik manifestoes indicate frankly that they do not want that bourgeois organ of free self-government. The way they put it is, "at the moment of the decisive battle of the people with their exploiters, there can be no place for the latter in any of the organs of government. So in Germany the extreme group has pronounced against the calling of a national assembly, Rosa Luxembourg declaring it must be prevented "at all costs." That is no doubt the meaning of the

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just announced attempt of the Independent Socialists to overthrow the Ebert government. (January 7.) That is, there is to be no place for any expression of opinion but their own. Under the name of a republic the Bolsheviks have created a beautiful new set of autocrats and bureaucrats presiding with absolute power over every department of the national life and controlling not only its industry, its commerce and agriculture but even its thinking and sources of knowledge to their own ends. Truly, there is a great similarity between the autocratic instincts of the Prussian Junker and the Russian Bolshevik both, and both have shown an utter contempt for the principles of humanity in the use of force. The published programme of the Bolshevik, as we have seen, is "mercilessness," that of the Junker was "*Schrecklichkeit*" or frightfulness. The difference was only in the class each represents. But of the two the Bolshevik is the more arbitrary and ruthless in procedure, the more contemptuous of world-opinion, of that limit which the highly developed sentiment of a common humanity, of the *societas humani generis* imposes even on the most reckless government of our time. No other government would have murdered in cold blood the helpless women of the Imperial family; no other government would have been capable of the entirely shameless treachery to the Allies of Russia revealed by the Sisson documents. Any nation that enters into negotiations with the Bolshevik government will have to keep such facts in mind. The Russian seems to be a combination of high sensibility and a stupid brutality. That is the impression you get of the typical Russian from Gogol and Dostoevsky, from Chekhov and Gorky alike, especially from the terrible revelations in Gorky's recent book, *My Childhood*. One moment he may be thinking of murdering you in one of his sombre moods and the next he may be hanging in tears on your neck. In neither case has he the restraints of a strong and firm civilization, but acts by a kind of fatalistic impulse which really takes no account of consequences. The strong and stable societies of the world will have to look after those children among the nations—now so many of them have been set loose—or there will be endless disorder. The task is not

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going to be a light one but it is probably better than having nothing to think of but chasing the dollar.

The ideal of social reconstruction which the Soviet Decrees outline is logical enough and complete on paper; it is a bold defiance by facile and irreverent enthusiasts of the wisdom and best experience of mankind, a bold attempt to clear the decks of a somewhat encumbered civilization by throwing everything overboard. They present it to the world mainly as a relief from the exploitation of the bourgeois and it draws most of its strength from the excesses of our present system rather than from its own merits. Its own programme is clearly at variance with the working conditions of human nature, and even if it should hold its own in Russia will have to undergo considerable modification.* For Russia after all is the land of Rasputins as well as of Krapotkins and Tolstoys; it is the land where a Chichikov could trade in "dead souls," and very poorly prepared, I should think, for a system which implies the very highest standards of rectitude and performance in its officials and citizens. Otherwise it is likely to become, as the French Revolution was for some years, a debauch of officialdom, great and petty.

Bourgeois civilization, as they call it, may be made a reasonable mean between these two analogous extremes of Prussian Junkerism and Russian Bolshevism. It has successfully repelled the attack of the one and broken it after a desperate struggle. The struggle with the other may be longer and to many seems at present full of danger. But the bourgeoisie is an immense class in our modern democracy ranging from the business and professional man to the small farmer or trader and the technical expert, and easily including the thrifty and well-to-do workmen. As a class it tends naturally, as its history shows, to a gradual peaceful readjustment of class relations as society

*In a late Decree the Central Administrations "are permitted, in order to facilitate the change' (from private to socialized enterprise) "to pay to the highest technical and commercial personnel *their present salaries*" and to compel them to work.

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develops new conditions. It will never lend itself to the widespread misery and devastation of a social revolution unless things become intolerable, as they did in the France of 1739 and the Russia of 1816. Its strength for the maintenance of society in this sense is irresistible if you can keep it together in sentiment. But to do that our politicians and leading business men will have to get together and do a little house-cleaning.

THE BRITISH ELECTIONS.

The British elections evidently affirm with unusual emphasis the conviction of the people that a strong and vigorous government, standing somewhat above the mere party point of view, is needed to handle the present world crisis. They have given Lloyd-George such a mandate as practically to extinguish opposition. They have swept away all those sectional, class, and party leaders who might be even suspected of attempting to make party capital out of the situation. Not only extreme men, Labour chiefs like Arthur Henderson and Ramsay Macdonald, but solid and respected party lieutenants like Runciman, Simon, McKenna, Samuel, have gone down in the avalanche. Even Asquith himself has been rejected by that staid Scotch constituency of Fife which he has represented for so many years. It looks as if the British people, ordinarily so ready to listen to all sides and give even the most extravagant minority a patient hearing, had made up its mind that this is no time for faction or factious criticism. They are tired of Spenders and Ponsonbys, tired of hearing every enemy they have quoting Mr. Ramsay Macdonald or Mr. Brailsford or G. B. Shaw as representing an important section of public opinion, tired of red flag meetings at Albert Hall and of foreign gentlemen who lead in singing the Internationale and are probably thinking what a fine place London would be for a little Bolshevik *battue* of the bourgeois. Even Labour often supported the Coalition candidate against the Labour nominee. It may not last but it is decisive for the moment. Lloyd-George, the British people have agreed, is the man for the crisis. He has all the personal prestige now and therefore the power requisite for strong action; he acts with courage and

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decision in the face of peril, and he knows better than any other man how to put his case before the public.

The election is the measure of the doubts and apprehensions of the British people. After four years of a tremendous struggle and terrible experiences they feel the necessity of looking squarely at the facts and putting aside the potions of soothing syrup offered from the usual quarters.* The position of Germany is still ambiguous. She has still great armies in the field; it is true her fleet is gone but it was never of very much use to her. No compensation has been fixed yet for the immense devastation she has caused. She has ruined Belgium and northern France, despoiled them of their machinery, destroyed their mines and factories, decimated and broken the spirit of their working population with the deliberate intention of reducing their power of competition. With the same idea she has sunk a great number of Britain's freight carrying ships along with their crews. She has raided Serbia. She is coming now to the Conference table with the hope of getting rid of as much of all that responsibility as possible. The German papers give great space to Erzberger's declaration that indemnities are to be restricted and every nation is to pay its own costs. The New York *Staatszeitung* had in big letters across its front page: "*Jede Nation soll ihre Kriegskosten tragen.*" There will be wrangling over Alsace-Lorraine, wrangling over the rich district of the Sarre which France lost with her defeat in 1815, wrangling over the German colonies. And the debtor, or criminal, comes in a change of clothes in which you hardly know whether he is the same man or not. The present Chancellor, Ebert, was the Kaiser's nominee, and, according to Kurt Eisener, the Bavarian premier, most of the old bureaucracy are still in their places. Even if the extreme Socialists should get the upper hand, a combination of Russian and German Bolshevists might be a serious menace to peace.

Nor does the situation elsewhere look as if it could be settled by mutual agreements amongst the peoples or by anything but the old-fashioned system of pressure from a combination

*The assurances, for example, of Mr. A. G. Gardiner that once we get rid of gold-spectacled diplomacy, etc., all our wars and troubles will be over.

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of the great Powers. It is impossible to define the boundaries of nations in Eastern Europe, either from the point of view of population, racial affinity, or historical claims, so as to satisfy all the peoples concerned. In Lithuania the Poles and Russians are cutting each others' throats; in Posen, Poles and Germans ditto. Poland's way to the sea involves the mutilation of Prussia. The Bolsheviki are overrunning Esthonia plundering and murdering, mainly the German "bourgeoisie" there, I suppose, but they will not be particular in the case of a well-to-do Lettish farmer. The Italians have a hot quarrel with the new Jugo-Slav federation over Istria and the Dalmatian coast. In Spalato, where the Jugo-Slav population is dominant, they are maltreating Italian sailors. The whole of Dalmatia is flooded, says the *Bolletino della Sera*, with German-Austrian propagandists making all the trouble they can. Italy also claims the Brenner Pass both as its natural right and as scientific frontier against the German. President Wilson, who has a large Italian population at home to consider, has gone to Rome to help in composing matters. He is received with great enthusiasm, of course, but the resignation of Leonida Bissolati from the Italian Cabinet means that the Government is to press its claims, and these claims are supported by the compact the Allies made with Italy in their hour of need, before President Wilson had made up his mind to come in.

Czecho-Slovaks, Magyars, Serbs and Roumanians are all involved in bitter disputes arising from an indescribable complication of racial feeling, economic interests and undefined boundaries. The Paris Conference cannot satisfy all of them; probably it will not quite satisfy any of them. Then the Tyrol, the Baltic provinces, Armenia, Mesopotamia, etc., are also seeking separation and independence on the principle of the self-determination of peoples. So is little Gottschee, which is somewhere in Carniola, if you look for it in a big map. Even the Turks in Constantinople, I see, are appealing—through Ameer Ali—to President Wilson: "Do we not also come in under the great principle of self-determination?"

Then there is Ireland, or at least the Sinn Fein part of it, as a special problem for the British people. No doubt they are asking themselves, "What effect would a separated Ireland,

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under Sinn Fein government, with an army of its own and harbours all ready for German submarines, have on the peace of the world?" And indeed it is a sobering reflection that it might add seriously to the task of Britain and make the load for France and the United States as co-guardians of peace correspondingly heavier. It would have much the same effect as if the French-speaking province of Quebec were separated from English-speaking Canada. Yet the Irish are closer to the British in the use of a common language, a common literature, a common social development, they are more intermixed in blood and marriage than is the case with Quebec and English-speaking Canada. The poetry of their Moores and Magees, their Yeatses and Synges is English in its speech, as is the oratory of their Burkes, Currans and O'Connells. Their soldiers and diplomatists, French and Roberts, Macartney and Macdonnell have found a great sphere in the administration and defence of the British Empire. Irish journalists like the well-known T. P. are as much at home in London as in Dublin or Cork. The richest province of Ireland is English in feeling and would fight to maintain the union with Britain. In such circumstances there should be some way of satisfying all reasonable demands of Ireland without a separation which would directly increase the possible area of war and add to the already heavy burdens which any League of Peace will have to bear.

It is quite evident that everywhere, and nowhere more than in Canada, the principle of nationalism applied without regard to conditions, actual and historical, would involve a great increase of conflicts which can be settled only by war, unless the great Powers can constitute themselves into a Court of Justice for the maintenance of order and hold themselves ready to enforce its decrees. The British people would like that you can see by their enthusiastic acclamations of Wilson, but evidently they feel they dare not altogether trust to it. The peoples do not know enough about each other's situation and problems yet, and no government can move now unless it is confident of the approbation of its people. There never was a clearer case than the German invasion of Belgium, there never will be. Yet President Wilson's reply to the appeal of

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Belgium was a discreet *Judicat orbis terrarum*, and it would have been difficult for him to do much more, with the nation still very much at sea on the subject of the war and a strong force of Ridders, Hearsts, O'Learys pulling the other way. Even in Britain, where the issues were naturally clearer, there was a very influential section which opposed all intervention up to the last hour. Some Cabinet ministers even resigned, but Asquith and Grey—be it remembered to their credit now—stood firm. That will be pretty much the situation always in international questions. With some six millions of soldiers actually in the field at the present moment, French, British, American and Italian, we do not see our way to put a stop to the Bolshevik raids on Esthonia, the pillage and murder in the Ukraine or the chaotic warfare of Russians, Poles, and Czecho-Slovaks. There are embarrassing considerations of all kinds.

France also feels she has got to look facts squarely in the face. She has suffered too much to be unduly optimistic and her leading statesmen say so bluntly enough. "We have been attacked," says M. Pichon, "and we want security." That is, I suppose, a more defensible frontier. And Premier Clemenceau pronounces frankly in favour of the "old system of alliances" and quietly reminds President Wilson that "America took her time to come in."

There is nothing to depress us in those facts, our fathers have faced situations that were worse coolly enough; the first great victory has been won, but there is need to realize that any organization for peace must be founded on facts and not merely on hopeful theories.

JAMES CAPPON.

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A FORGOTTEN ADVENTURER OF THE FUR TRADE.*

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am attempting this evening to tell the story of a fur trader, in the first half of the nineteenth century. The fact that this particular fur trader saw service under three different corporations, the North West Company, the Pacific Fur Company, and the Hudson's Bay Company, promises at least a measure of variety to his experiences. And to me at least it has proved rather fascinating to attempt to reconstruct the life and character of a man who—unlike most of his contemporaries in the fur trade—left almost no vestige of written record, journal, diary or letter.

Donald McKenzie came not only of a race, but of a family, that gave liberally of its sons to the fur trade. He had three brothers in the North West Company—Roderick, who sailed from Scotland to Canada in 1784, became one of the agents or proprietors of the North West Company, and planned a history of the Company; Henry, who for many years was Secretary of the Company; and James, who came out in 1794, rose to the rank of bourgeois in the Company's service, and had charge of the old King's Posts, with headquarters at Quebec. He had also a cousin, much more famous in the fur trade and in the history of western exploration, Sir Alexander Mackenzie.

Of Donald McKenzie's early years we know, at present, next to nothing. He came out to Montreal, from the Highlands of Scotland, apparently about the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth century. Alexander Ross, one

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of his contemporaries in the fur trade, says that he was a man of liberal endowments and education, and that he had been designed for the ministry. Probably the success of his brother Roderick induced him to abandon any plans he may have formed in the old land, and follow him to Canada. How or where he first served with the North West Company it is impossible at present to say. His name does not appear in either the 1799 or 1804 list of N. W. C. employees published in Masson's *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*. On the other hand, Masson explains that the 1804 list is incomplete, and does not include the names of those employed in the Great Slave Lake, Mackenzie River, Rocky Mountains or King's Posts departments. In the absence of these lists, one may perhaps assume that Donald McKenzie's first experience in the fur trade was gained at some of the posts in the far northwest. Irving, in his *Astoria*, says that he had been in the service of the North West Company for ten years before joining Astor's expedition to the Pacific Coast in 1810. Beyond this meagre statement, absolutely nothing is known as to Mackenzie's early connection with the North West Company. Coues, Bryce, Masson, Thwaites, and others who have contributed so much to our knowledge of the Canadian fur trade, and of the men who took part in it, are uniformly silent in his case.

Before taking up the second stage of McKenzie's life as a fur trader, with the Pacific Fur Company, it may be worth while to gather together what evidence we have as to his personality. Washington Irving says that he had a frame seasoned to toils and hardships; a spirit not to be intimidated; and was reputed to be a remarkable shot, which of itself was sufficient to give him renown upon the frontier. Ross says he was "a corpulent, heavy man, weighing 312 lbs." Another contemporary calls him "fat McKenzie." He had, however, none of the characteristics of Falstaff. His physical energy was extraordinary, and he did not know the meaning of fear. Ross Cox, who also was associated with him in the western fur trade, says that "to the most cautious prudence he united the most dauntless intrepidity; in fact, no hardships could fatigue, no dangers intimidate him." He had remarkable skill with the rifle, and could "drive a dozen balls consecutively at one

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hundred paces through a Spanish dollar." Ross describes him as "bold, robust, and peculiarly qualified to lead Canadian voyageurs through thick and thin." Elsewhere he says of him, "to travel a day's journey on snowshoes was his delight . . . when not asleep, he was always on foot, strolling backwards and forwards, full of plans and projects: so peculiar was this pedestrian habit, that he went by the name of 'Perpetual Motion'." Although, as already noted, a man of liberal endowments and education, he "had a great aversion to writing, preferring to leave the details of his adventures to the pen of others . . . he detested spending five minutes scribbling in a journal. His travelling notes were often kept on a beaver skin, written hieroglyphically with a pencil or piece of coal, and he would often complain of the drudgery of keeping accounts. When asked why he did not like to write, his answer was, 'we must leave something for others to do.' Few men could fathom his mind, yet his inquisitiveness to know the minds and opinions of others knew no bounds. Every man he met was his companion." So much as to the man. Now a few words as to the Company he is about to join.

The Pacific Fur Company was organized in New York, in the spring of 1810, by John Jacob Astor. Astor's ambition was to control ultimately the fur trade of the west, at any rate south of the British dominions, and as a step toward this end he intended to establish a strong trading post at the mouth of the Columbia, which he hoped would lead to the control of the trade of the Pacific coast. He furnished all the capital of the Pacific Fur Company, and retained half the shares in his own name. With him he associated a number of partners and clerks, who went into the project as adventurers, receiving no salary, but with the prospect of becoming shareholders if they made the undertaking a success. Of these associates, the larger part were recruited in Montreal, from among employees of the North West Company who preferred the glittering chances of a new venture to the humdrum certainties of their previous occupation, or perhaps, as in the case of McKenzie, were attracted by the prospect of larger opportunities and wider outlets for their energy in the untried field on the Pacific coast.

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The partners and clerks of the Pacific Fur Company were divided into two parties. One went around by sea to the mouth of the Columbia; the other made its way overland, though as a matter of fact it also travelled mainly by water. The fascinating story of the voyage of the *Tonquin* is told by Irving in *Astoria*, and by Gabriel Franchère in his *Narrative*. The authorities for the overland expedition, in addition to Irving and Franchère, are Alexander Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River*; Ross Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River*; John Bradbury, *Travels in the Interior of North America*; and H. M. Brackenridge, *Journal*. As we are concerned here only with the story of McKenzie, and as he went with the overland party, we shall confine ourselves to that branch of the expedition. The leaders were Wilson Price Hunt, an American, and McKenzie. They started from Montreal, where McKenzie would have recruited from the Nor-Westers all the voyageurs they needed. Hunt, however, who was "grave, steady, and straightforward, . . . detested the volatile gaiety and everchanging character of the Canadian voyageurs." In the end, therefore, they took only sufficient men to man one canoe. They embarked at Lachine, July 5th, 1810, and after the usual delay at Ste. Annes to enable the voyageurs to visit the shrine, made their way up the Ottawa, the paddles keeping time to the rollicking air of one of the old Canadian *chansons*. Following this ancient thoroughfare of fur-traders, they reached Mackinaw, where Hunt had expected to obtain a number of men. Weeks, however, were wasted in fruitless efforts, and in the end they were able to secure only a handful of second-rate men.

Mackinaw, or Michilimackinac as it had previously been called, had been throughout the eighteenth century, and was still, the principal outfitting point for traders to the southwest. In 1810 it was the headquarters of the Mackinaw Company, and a rendezvous for hundreds of traders, trappers and adventurers connected with the Indian trade. Ross, who probably got his information from McKenzie, describes the place as "a great bedlam, the frantic inmates running to and fro in wild forgetfulness. . . . In the morning they were found drinking, at noon drunk, in the evening dead drunk. Hogarth's

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drunkards in Gin Lane and Beer Alley were nothing compared to the drunkards of Mackina at this time. Every nook and corner in the whole island swarmed, at all hours of the day and night, with motley groups of uproarious tipplers and whisky-hunters."

From Mackinaw, Hunt and McKenzie crossed over to Green Bay, by the Fox and Wisconsin to the Mississippi, and down to St. Louis, at that time also a centre of the fur trade. Of the St. Louis of 1810, Ross gives as unflattering a picture as he does at Mackinaw. "A medley of French Creoles, old and worn-out Canadians, Spanish renegades, with a mixture of Indian and Indian half-breeds, enervated by indolence, debauchery, and a warm climate." Here Hunt picked up several hunters and trappers, and after heart-breaking difficulties and delays, the expedition started up the Missouri toward the end of October. Two experienced traders, Ramsey Crooks and Miller, joined the party, the former at Mackinaw and the latter at St. Louis. They wintered on the Missouri, and in the spring of 1811 continued their way up the river, partly by boat and partly on horseback, and, after many adventures, reached the Rocky Mountains. Their real troubles began when they attempted to descend one of the great branches of the Columbia. They were compelled to abandon their canoes, provisions became very scarce, and finally they cached the goods and baggage and broke up into several parties, each seeking a practicable route to the mouth of the Columbia. It was already late in the season, the country was destitute of game, and the situation had become desperate. McKenzie, who had charge of one of the parties, called his little band together and said to them: "Now, my friends, there is still hope before us; to linger on our way, to return back, or to be discouraged and stand still, is death—a death of all others the most miserable; therefore, take courage; let us persevere and push on ahead, and all will end well; the foremost will find something to eat, the last may fare worse." Encouraged by his example, they started on their long tramp to the sea. At one time for five days they were without a mouthful to eat. A beaver and its skin kept the party alive for three days. They became so weak that McKenzie, whose courage rose superior to all trials, carried

two of the men's blankets as well as his own. At last they arrived at Walla Walla on the Columbia, and on the 10th January, 1812, reached the fort which the *Tonquin* party had already built and named Astoria. Others of the overland expedition under Hunt arrived in February.

Both Ross Cox and Franchère in their narratives describe the arrival of McKenzie and his men at Astoria. "Their concave cheeks, protuberant bones, and tattered garments," says the former, "strongly indicated the dreadful extent of their privations; but their health appeared uninjured, and their gastronomic powers unimpaired." Franchère is more dramatic. "On the 18th" (January)—there is a discrepancy in the dates between Ross Cox and Franchère—he says, "in the evening, two canoes full of white men arrived at the establishment. Mr. McDougal, the resident agent, being confined to his room by sickness, the duty of receiving the strangers devolved on me. My astonishment was not slight, when one of the party called me by name, as he extended his hand, and I recognized Mr. Donald McKenzie, the same who had quitted Montreal, with Mr. W. P. Hunt, in the month of July, 1810. . . . (They) arrived in a pitiable condition . . . their clothes nothing but fluttering rags."

In June, McKenzie left with a party of men to establish a trading post on Lewis river—now Snake river—one of the great tributaries of the Columbia. Stuart and Clarke, two of the other partners, set forth at the same time in charge of parties, one for the Okanagan and the other for the Spokane country. They all travelled up the Columbia together. At the Cascades they were held up by a large party of Indians. Clarke, who was in supreme command, became intimidated by their threats, and knew not whether to advance or retreat. For several days he remained inactive, trying to temporize with the natives. Finally McKenzie lost patience, took over the command himself, ordered the tents to be struck and the parties to advance. The Indians fell back, and they got through without molestation or loss.

The previous day McKenzie had noticed in one of the chiefs' lodges a rifle that had been stolen from one of the traders some time previously. He determined to recover it. As

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soon, therefore, as the camp had been safely moved above the cascades, he took eight men, well armed, with him and went direct to the chief's lodge. Then stationing four of his men at the door, he himself went in with the other four and demanded the stolen rifle; but the chief denied that he had it or that it was in his lodge. McKenzie insisted that it was there, and said he was determined to have it; and seeing that fair means would not avail he drew his dagger and began to turn over and cut up everything that came in his way, until at last the rifle was discovered, when he upbraided the chief for falsehood and dishonesty, took the rifle, and with his party made for the door of the lodge. The Indians were now assembling together in crowds; but before they had time to decide on any step, McKenzie and his men were out of their reach, carrying the rifle with them. "The business," "adds Ross, "was well timed, for had they delayed some minutes longer in the lodge, it is hard to say what the consequences might have been." This was characteristic of McKenzie's method of dealing with the Indians. He never made idle threats, and never faltered once he had made up his mind to carry a thing through. As a result he was respected and feared by the same Indians who showed their contempt for some of his white companions.

McKenzie spent part of the winter on Snake river, among the Nez Percé tribe, but to little advantage. They were an indolent and roving race, who scorned the drudgery of crawling about in search of beaver. "Such a life," they said, "was only fit for women and slaves." War and buffalo hunting were their principal occupations. Toward the end of the year McKenzie learned that war had been declared between Great Britain and the United States, and hurried down to Astoria to consult with the other partners. In the absence of Hunt, the principal partner, who had gone north with the company's ship, the *Beaver*, to the Russian settlements, McDougall and McKenzie decided that the only practicable plan, in view of of the fact that British men-of-war might at any time enter the river, was to abandon Astoria and remove the goods and furs into the interior. McKenzie started up river once more to inform Stuart and Clarke, and having done so went on to his post on Snake river. Here he learned that a cache, in

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which he had buried all his goods before going down to Astoria, had been robbed by the Indians. He at once summoned the chiefs, and curtly demanded the return of the goods. They all denied any knowledge of the theft, and put the blame on the young warriors, whose misconduct they said was truly regrettable, but the goods were gone, and nothing could be done. McKenzie thought otherwise, and at once resolved on a bold and hazardous step, to dash into the heart of the Indian camp and recover what he could. Ross, our western Boswell, tells the story in his own way:—

“Next morning, after depositing in a safe place the few articles he had brought with him, he and his little band, armed cap-à-pie, set out on foot for the camp. On their approach the Indians, suspecting something, turned out in groups here and there, also armed. But McKenzie, without a moment’s hesitation, or giving them time to reflect, ordered Mr. Seaton, who commanded the men, to surround the first wigwam or lodge with charged bayonets, while he himself and Mr. Reed entered the lodge, ransacked it, turning everything topsy-turvy, and with their drawn daggers cutting and ripping open everything that might be supposed to conceal the stolen property. In this manner they went from one lodge to another till they had searched five or six with various success, when the chiefs demanded a parley, and gave McKenzie to understand that if he desisted they would do the business themselves, and more effectually. McKenzie, after some feigned reluctance, at last agreed to the chiefs’ proposition. They then asked him to withdraw; but this he peremptorily refused, knowing from experience that they were least exposed in the camp; for Indians are always averse to hostilities taking place in their camp, in the midst of their women and children. . . . The chiefs went from house to house, and after about three hours’ time they returned, bringing with them a large portion of the property, and delivered it to McKenzie, when he and his men left the camp and returned home, bearing off in triumph the fruits of their valour; and well pleased with their hairbreadth adventure.”

The Indians, annoyed that the whites had got the upper hand, determined either to drive them out of the country, or

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force them to pay extravagant prices for the horses that they knew McKenzie must have, both to feed his men and to move the goods if Astoria should be abandoned. McKenzie offered higher prices than usual, but the chiefs were inexorable. Finally the wily trader fell back upon a stratagem to bring them to terms. He moved his camp to an island where he was secure from attack, and from thence sent out small parties by night to the grazing grounds, shot the fattest horses they could find, and brought in the meat, leaving the price stuck upon a pole beside the head of the dead horse. The ill-used Indians stood this for a time, but finally, after they had lost some of their best hunters, asked for a parley, and agreed to sell horses to the whites at the market price—the latter, on their part, to give up their marauding practices.

In the spring of 1812, McKenzie had explored the Willamette for several hundred miles. During the journey one of his men had beaten an Indian of the Kalapuya tribe. Nothing was said at the time, but it appeared the Indian and his friends had determined to exact vengeance. The following year they waited for McKenzie at the mouth of the Willamette, on his way down to Astoria from Snake river. He had no suspicion of their intentions, until he read a note of warning which McDougall had sent him by a friendly Indian. The situation was then extremely awkward, as his boat had been left by the tide high and dry on the beach. Always fertile in expedients, however, he feigned the greatest confidence in the Indians, told them he had some thoughts of building a post there, and would spend the night with them in order to look for a suitable site. Some he set to work clearing space for a camp, and kept the rest occupied in looking out for a place to build. While they were congratulating themselves on the ease with which they could make away with him during the night, the following tide set the boat afloat, and McKenzie and his men quickly embarked and pushed out into the river, before the savages could recover from their astonishment.

I shall not attempt to enter into the historical controversy that has raged around the transfer of Astoria to the North West Company. The question was threshed out at Astoria, all the partners being present except Hunt, and in

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October, 1913, the trading goods and furs were sold to the North West Company for \$80,500. The following month a British sloop of war, the *Raccoon*, entered the river, and her commander, Captain Black, landed and took possession of the place in the name of His Majesty. Astoria was re-christened Fort George. According to Franchère, Astoria had been represented to the Admiralty as an important American colony, and Captain Black was correspondingly disgusted when he saw the palisades and log bastions of the little fort. "What," he exclaimed, "is this the fort which was represented to me as so formidable! Good God! I could batter it down in two hours with a four-pounder!" When Hunt returned in February, he expressed some dissatisfaction with the terms of the transfer, but, in view of the visit of the *Raccoon*, probably recognized that the situation might have been much worse. Astor, however, when the news reached him, would listen to no explanation of what he apparently regarded as a treacherous abandonment of a great and promising enterprise.

Hunt with several of the clerks returned to New York by sea. McKenzie, Stuart, Clarke, Franchère and others, left with the North West Company's overland brigade for Montreal, on the 4th of April, 1814. Our faithful chronicler Ross remained behind on the Columbia, and we must turn to Franchère for an account of the overland expedition. Their route led up the Columbia to the Rocky Mountains, through Athabaska pass, and down the Athabaska. They left Fort George in ten canoes, which were abandoned on the west side of the mountains. The mountains were crossed partly on foot and partly on horseback, to Rocky Mountain House on the Athabaska, where canoes were again available. Franchère speaks feelingly of the toilsome tramp over the mountains, where the snow was deep and rapidly melting. "It was," he says, "as if we had put on and taken off at every step a very large pair of boots." From Rocky Mountain House they followed one of the recognized routes to Fort Vermilion on the Saskatchewan. Hallet, who was in charge of this post, is described by Franchère as a polite, sociable man, loving his ease passably well. Franchère, rummaging about, found a large unused cariole in one of the sheds. Hallet explained that, having horses, he

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thought he might as well enjoy an occasional sleigh-ride, and had his men build a cariole. The workmen, however, had neglected to take measurements of the doors of the building before constructing the cariole, and as a consequence Hallet had been faced with the disagreeable alternative of pulling down the building or leaving the cariole where it was. "It was like to remain there a long time," Franchère dryly concludes. An interesting point noted here—particularly interesting in view of the long and bitter conflict between the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies—is that the trading posts of the two companies were built side by side, and surrounded by a common palisade, with a door of communication, for mutual succor in case of attack by the Indians. This arrangement applied to a number of the trading establishments of the rival companies. It served a double purpose; they could keep a watchful eye on one another, and at the same time combine against the common enemy.

The travellers rapidly descended the Saskatchewan to Cumberland House and Lake Winnipeg; ascended Winnipeg river to the Lake of the Woods, and Rainy Lake House, and through a network of small lakes and rivers to Fort William, on Lake Superior. Franchère's description of this famous headquarters of the North West Company is worth repeating, as much the most complete we have:—"Fort William," he says, "has really the appearance of a fort, with its palisade fifteen feet high, and that of a pretty village from the number of edifices it encloses. In the middle of a spacious square rises a large building elegantly constructed, though of wood, with a long piazza or portico, raised about five feet from the ground, and surmounted by a balcony, extending along the whole front. In the centre is a saloon or hall, sixty feet in length by thirty in width, decorated with several pieces of painting, and some portraits of the leading partners. It is in this hall that the agents, partners, clerks, interpreters, and guides, take their meals together, at different tables. At each extremity of the apartment are two rooms; two of these are destined for the two principal agents; the other two to the steward and his department. The kitchen and servants' rooms are in the basement. On either side of this edifice is another of the same

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extent, but of less elevation; they are each divided by a corridor running through its length, and contain each a dozen pretty bedrooms. One is destined for the wintering partners, the other for the clerks. On the east of the square is another building similar to the last two, and intended for the same use, and a warehouse where the furs are inspected and re-packed for shipment. In the rear of these are the lodging-house of the guides, another fur-warehouse, and finally a powder magazine. The last is of stone, and has a roof covered with tin. At the angle is a sort of bastion, or lookout place, commanding a view of the lake. On the west side is seen a range of buildings, some of which serve for stores, and others for workshops; there is one for the equipment of the men, another for the fitting out of the canoes, one for the retail of goods, another where they sell liquors, bread, pork, butter, etc., and where a treat is given to the travellers who arrive. This consists of a white loaf, half a pound of butter, and a gill of rum. The voyageurs give this tavern the name of *Cantine salope*. Behind all this is another range, where we find the counting-house, a fine square building, and well-lighted; another storehouse of stone, tin-roofed; and a jail, not less necessary than the rest. The voyageurs give it the name of *pot au beurre*—the butter tub. Beyond these we discover the shops of the carpenter, the cooper, the tinsmith, the blacksmith, etc.; and spacious yards and sheds for the shelter, reparation, and construction of canoes. Near the gate of the fort, which is on the south, are the quarters of the physician, and those of the chief clerk. Over the gate is a guard-house. As the river is deep at its entrance, the company has had a wharf constructed extending the whole length of the fort, for the discharge of the vessels which it keeps on Lake Superior, whether to transport its furs from Fort William to the Saut Ste Marie, or merchandise and provisions from Saut Ste Marie to Fort William." It is perhaps unnecessary to say that the ordinary trading post in the interior was a very different affair from this.

The rest of the journey down to Montreal was made without incident, by the usual route, Lake Superior, St. Mary's river, Lake Huron, Georgian Bay, French river, Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa. They landed at Montreal September 1st,

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1814. From there McKenzie went down to New York to deliver to Astor the papers of the ill-fated Pacific Fur Company. One can well imagine that the interview was a stormy one.

Here we lose sight of him for a time, beyond a single amusing glimpse in New York, in March of the following year. In a letter from Robert Stuart to Ramsey Crooks (both of whom had been fellow-partners with McKenzie in the Pacific Fur Company), dated 21st March, 1815, at Brooklyn, N.Y., the following passage occurs: "Fat McKenzie is here for the third time since his arrival in the white man's country. He pesters the Old Tyger's soul out to employ him again, but he dislikes him very much, sometimes says that if he enters into the business upon the meditated large scale that he should like to give him a situation in some retired corner where he could do no mischief, etc. etc. I am glad that he did not propose him as one of our party as I think it would break up the concern."

Astor was at this time still deeply engaged in ambitious schemes for controlling the western fur trade. As to his opinion of McKenzie, Alexander Ross wrote: "Mr. Astor placed great confidence in his abilities, perseverance and prudence," but this of course was written before McKenzie had forfeited the old gentleman's good opinion by recommending the surrender of Astoria. That the adventurers of the fur trade did not always hold one another in the highest esteem, we have further evidence in the narratives of Alexander Ross and Ross Cox. Although they were together on the Columbia for several years, Cox completely ignores Ross's existence in his book, and Ross only mentions Cox to poke malicious fun at him.

Having apparently been refused by Astor, McKenzie again entered the service of the North West Company. We find him at Fort William in 1816, and the same year he is back again at Fort George on the Columbia. The administration of the Columbia department by those representing the North West Company had been far from satisfactory, and the council at Fort William had decided that the work on the Pacific Coast was to be divided into two departments, one to include the establishment at Fort George, the shipping interests, coast trade and general outfitting business; the other, which was placed under McKenzie, to embrace the entire management of

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the trading posts in the interior. This appointment gave great umbrage to the partners who had been mismanaging the affairs of the company. That a stranger, a man to use their own words, "that was only fit to eat horse-flesh, and shoot at a mark," should have been put over their heads, was a slur on their reputations. They therefore set themselves, as men will do under such circumstances, to make McKenzie's task so difficult that he would be glad to get out of the country, and as Keith, who had charge at Fort George, sided with the malcontents, McKenzie's position was not an enviable one. That he rose to the occasion, and, in spite of all obstacles turned what had been a most conspicuous and expensive failure into a very profitable fur-trading district, establishes beyond question the man's indomitable courage, resourcefulness, and good judgment. With such meagre supplies as he was able to extract from his colleagues at Fort George, and with a motley crew of men—Ross says a "medley of savages, Iroquois, Abanakees, and Owhyhees", or Sandwich Islanders—he set out for the interior, built posts, handled the natives with tact, courage and judgment, and returned to Fort George with such a cargo of furs as compelled the reluctant admiration of those who had opposed him. An incident on his journey inland illustrates his success with the Indians. At the Cascades, that ominous spot where traders had been repeatedly pillaged of their goods, one of his boats was destroyed on the rocks. McKenzie without hesitation delivered over to one of the chiefs the boat's cargo of sixty packages of trading goods—representing uncounted wealth to an Indian. When the brigade returned the chief delivered over the whole cargo, safe and untouched, after being six months in his possession. "Nor," says Ross, "did we ever learn that the Indians molested him in the least during this seasonable act of friendship." McKenzie again showed his knowledge of Indian character in using them as couriers. The company's important despatches from Fort William were usually escorted down the river to Fort George by a special brigade. This involved a great waste of labour needed in other directions. McKenzie had a better plan. He sent for the chiefs at Walla Walla, handed over the despatches to them and requested that they send them down to Fort George.

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They were handed down safely from tribe to tribe, and answers brought back by the same hands, in far less time than had ever been found possible in the past.

In September, 1818, McKenzie, having already established a post among the Nez Percé Indians, organized an expedition to explore the country of the Snake nation—a formidable task, as the Snakes were a large and warlike confederation, and their attitude toward the whites was extremely doubtful. They had also been at war for some time with the Nez Percés, with whom McKenzie was trading. He travelled through a country much of which had never before been seen by white men. Deer and bear and mountain sheep, besides many of the smaller fur-bearing animals, were seen in abundance, showing by their actions that the report of a gun was still without any sinister meaning to them. The explorer also passed numerous herds of wild horses, galloping backwards and forwards on the slopes of the mountains with their flowing manes and bushy tails streaming in the wind. It was not until late in 1819 that McKenzie was able to carry out one of the principal objects of his expedition, that is, to meet the principal chiefs of the Snakes, arrange a peace between them and the Nez Percés, and secure permission to build trading posts in their country. The great camp of the Snakes, as McKenzie described it to Ross, must have been most impressive. Of the three tribes making up the confederacy, he estimated that there must have been ten thousand assembled, their lodges, arranged in a certain definite order of their own, covering a space of some seven miles. This great gathering was governed by two chiefs, brothers, both well over six feet, and well proportioned. They are described as very intelligent men, with an almost autocratic power over their followers. On learning the object of McKenzie's visit, they called together the council of the tribes, and after an entire week spent in Indian oratory, the peace was ratified, for the time being at any rate. McKenzie presented each of the two principal chiefs with a flag as an emblem of peace, and no doubt made the usual distribution of presents. After wintering in the Snake country, he returned to Fort Nez Percés in June, 1820, with a rich cargo of furs. The following month he was off again to the Snake country, where he spent

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another year, again reaching Nez Percés in July, 1821. I find a casual reference to his work of this period in a letter of January, 1819, from Sir Alexander Mackenzie, then in Scotland, to Roderick McKenzie, in Montreal. "By a letter of Angus Bethune's," he says, "I heard of Donald's situation on the Columbia. It is one of considerable personal risk, but advantageous had he been able to reach the proper hunting grounds. It is now believed there are plenty beaver in that country, and it will be very hard if it is wrested from us through the ignorance of our negotiators."

Donald McKenzie had come to the Columbia at the request of the North West Company, on a five years' contract. The period had now expired, and the object of his mission was fully accomplished. He had established beyond question, even on the part of those who had for several years mismanaged the affairs of the Columbia department, the fact that the upper waters of the Columbia and its tributaries offered an exceedingly valuable field to the enterprising and resourceful fur-trader. Incidentally he had carried out some important bits of exploration, which did not go altogether unrecognized. Franchère notes that McKenzie's name was given to one of the large eastern tributaries of the Willamette, which it will be remembered he explored in 1812; and Ross writes in 1825, "the largest (tributary of the Columbia) we have met with since passing the Kootanais River, I have named McKenzie's River, after my companion and fellow-traveller of former years."

McKenzie, having completed his work on the Columbia, decided to return east, but the season being then too far advanced, he spent the winter at Nez Percés, and finally crosses the mountains in the autumn of 1822. The North West Company having been absorbed by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, McKenzie entered their service, and, according to Mason, was entrusted with the "difficult task of establishing a trading post (Chesterfield House) on *La Fourche des Gros Ventres*, among the Pawnees and Gros Ventres, who had already plundered him a few years before and who threatened to do the same if he returned." By his energy and skill he "succeeded in a task which many considered hopeless." In

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recognition of this excellent piece of work, and no doubt also because of his long experience and abilities, he was appointed Governor of the Red River Colony, with charge of the Company's interests at that important point. He remained here from 1825 to 1833, "with great credit to himself and satisfaction to the public." Chester Martin, in his *Selkirk's Work in Canada*, quotes from one of the official reports of this "shrewd and capable Governor of the Settlement," in 1829, an enthusiastic account of the progress of the colony. Sir George Simpson, writing Roderick McKenzie in September of this same year, says: "Your brother Donald, his lady and young folks, were in high health and spirits in the month of May last when I passed ten days most agreeably with them at Red River. His government is the most easy under the sun; he settles the most knotty points with a joke and a laugh, seated on a mortar opposite the gate of his post, and is more beloved and respected than words can tell; he is not so stout as he was, but much more healthy, and looks as if he would live for ever." Alexander Ross, too, in his third and last book, the *Red River Settlement*, has not forgotten his old companion of the Columbia. Describing the great Red River flood of 1826, he says: "The generous and humane Governor of the Colony, Mr. D. McKenzie, sent his own boat to the assistance of the settlers, though himself and family depended on it for their safety, as they were in an upper story, with ten feet of water rushing through the house." McKenzie retired finally from the west in 1833, and after making a tour of the Eastern States, during which he purchased a home, delightfully situated at Mayville, on the shores of Lake Erie, and in the State of New York, he settled there with his family. Franchère, who had never forgiven him for his part in the surrender of Astoria, has a last biting fling at him in 1854. "Donald McKenzie," he says, "went back to the Columbia, where he amassed a considerable fortune, with which he retired, and lived in Chautauque County in this state, where he died a few years since unknown and neglected;—he was a very selfish man, who cared for no one but himself." One almost gets the impression that some personal encounter with the big Scotchman, in the far-off days on the banks of the Columbia, still rankled in the memory of

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Franchère. Certainly there seems to be more spleen than truth in his valediction. One prefers to accept the very different picture of McKenzie left by Ross and other of his contemporaries, and one leaves him with the hope that he enjoyed to the full the quiet pleasures of civilized society, after his long years of strenuous adventure in the wilderness. He died at Mayville in 1851.

L. J. BURPEE.

CALVIN AND THE RULING ELDER.

THE Reformed churches, in almost every branch of which the eldership has been from the beginning a cardinal point of polity, began their life as a protest against the corruptions of the old Church system. They sought a life and faith such as they saw reflected in the New Testament. They were convinced that the great fabric of the Roman Church which had grown through so many centuries was so identified with the corruptions against which they protested, that, if religion was to be truly reformed, it must be repudiated and overthrown. So they became iconoclasts and hated Rome with a furious hatred. That great fabric of church polity was of a piece with the corrupt type of Christianity which it bodied forth. The Reformers did not attempt to reform an old church, theirs was the more difficult task of forming a new church. To this end they learned very early that the Church must be organized and maintain a discipline. Reformers before the Reformation had learned for them the lesson of the futility of an unorganized or disorganized church. In his perception of the vital importance of Church organization Calvin took precedence over all the reformers. That man who gave the Reformed Church its greatest exposition of theology, was equally interested in and devoted to Church discipline. According to Lord Acton, his greatest work, the work in which he surpassed all the other reformers, was along this line.

Calvin, of course, did not give to the Genevan church, to which he ministered and to which the Presbyterian churches all reach back, any ready-made paper constitution. Like every other contribution that has shown vitality it was shaped by the changing needs of the Church. One thing however he was sure of from the first, and it became with him as it did in all the reformed churches, a settled point of policy—the need of the voice of the people in the courts of the Church spoken through their representatives. It was not so much, as has been represented, because of his well known republican views, as because of his view of the church, so radically different from

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that of Rome. The Church too long had been identified with the clergy—the place of the great body of believers had been considered in it but not of it. With Calvin came a new emphasis upon the whole body of believers as being the Church. He reasserted that original idea of the church—the priesthood of the Christian people, not only because it is apostolic but because it strikes at the root of all sacerdotalist pretention and superstition. And in the Church which he laboured so diligently to establish he restored to the “brethren” (the general body of the faithful) their long withheld rights as members of the Church, and their share in its government. This was the cardinal point of the Calvinistic polity. Compared with this the rule of Presbytery or Episcopacy was quite secondary. But the people must be given a voice in the government of the Church and the absolutism of clericalism as it had developed under Rome must be put an end to since the fruits of such a polity had been utterly bad.

An instrument of this idea of the Church Calvin found in the Eldership. Calvin’s familiarity with and devotion to Augustine on many points of theology is well known. It would seem that he was not a little indebted to the same leader of the old church in fashioning an institution for the carrying out of this idea of the Church as the whole body of the faithful. The institution of the Eldership was well established in the Augustinian Church, though long before the time of Calvin it had perished, like every other trace of democracy, under the heavy hand of Rome. It may well be that if Calvin did not get the seed of his Eldership as well as of his doctrine of election from Augustine that he found weighty support for them from that quarter.

There are traces of the same institution in some branches of the Church which for centuries had lived beyond the influence of Rome—a survival of the earlier polity of the Church. Dr. Claudius Buchanan found in the Syrian churches of Calibar an order of principal of leading laymen—representatives of the people—which evidently had been in existence from very early times. These representatives or elders were “totally distinct from the presbyters and rank not with them or even next to them but after the deacons.” The old Waldensian

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Church lived for centuries shut off from the influence of Rome and in defiance to her rule. Their Synods were composed of ministers and elders. Connected with them historically was the Bohemian Church. It is well known that Calvin was familiar with the institution of the eldership as it existed among them and much impressed by it as a feature of Church polity. Here then the great Reformer found the institution which the Church was in need of, with the precedent of Bohemia and the authority of Augustine behind it.

In Calvin the function of the Eldership is not so clearly defined as controversialists in after ages would have desired. But this is only what we should have expected if we remember that institutions of real vitality are not imported into the life of a community ready-made and perfected in details. When we inquire of the teachings and practice of Calvin whether the elder in the Genevan Church was a presbyter or a "lay elder" we find that some passages seem to favour one side and some the other, although the balance of evidence would seem to be on the side of the "lay elder."

First there is the practice of the Genevan Church under Calvin. It gives little countenance to the view that the elders who were associated with Calvin and his fellow-ministers were generally considered presbyters in the New Testament sense. Those who picture to themselves Geneva as the model of all our Presbyterian churches would do well to take a second look at that Church under Calvin. The Genevan consistory was composed of two members of the Upper Council of the city, and ten of the Lower, or Council of Two Hundred, to whom six pastors were joined. The lay members were appointed annually, and had no ordination; and the whole body was presided over by one of the syndics or magistrates. The Presbytery or "*Vénérable Compagnie des Pasteurs*" of Geneva consisted solely of clerical members. There is no evidence whatever that Calvin's elders shared with the ministers of the word any of the spiritual functions of that office other than the exercise of discipline, if that may be considered a spiritual office.

Then especially there is his clear teaching on the functions of the Eldership set forth in the early part of that section of

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The Institutes which deals with "The Church." The position there taken is that held to in the great body of his work with two exceptions which we shall note presently. It takes the same view of the Eldership as that which obtained in the Augustinian Church and among the Bohemians. In this passage (Institutes Book 4, Chapter 3, Section 8) he says, "In giving the name of bishops, presbyters and pastors, indiscriminately to those who govern churches, I have done it on the authority of Scripture, which uses the words as synonymous." Here it is to be noted that the word 'presbyter' which is rendered 'elder' in our English version of the Bible is recognized as synonymous with the pastor or bishop. He certainly is thinking of the ministerial elder and not of the ruling elder as being identical with the bishop or pastor, for he goes on immediately to say, "Here it is to be observed, that we have hitherto enumerated those officers only which consist in the ministry of the Word." Then he proceeds to show the warrant for the eldership as the Reformed churches understand it. "But in the Epistle to the Romans, and the First Epistle to the Corinthians, he enumerates other offices, as powers, gifts of healing, interpretation, government, care of the poor, (Rom. 12: 7; I Cor. 12: 28). As to those which were temporary I say nothing, for it is not worth while to dwell upon them. But there are two of perpetual duration, viz., government and care of the poor. By these governors I understand seniors selected from the people to unite with the bishops in pronouncing censures and exercising discipline. For this is the only meaning which can be given to the passage, "He that ruleth with diligence." (Rom. 12 8.) From the beginning, therefore, each Church had its senate, composed of pious, grave, and venerable men, in whom was lodged the power of correcting faults. Of this power we shall afterwards speak. Moreover, experience shows that this arrangement was not confined to one age, and therefore we are to regard the office of government as necessary for all ages."

From this passage it is evident that the senate of governors was clearly distinguished from the presbyters or elders of the New Testament Church. The word used to designate them—'seniores' is the very word used by Augustine. The

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fact that in the Church of Augustine the distinction is clearly made between 'seniores' and presbyters is further evidence that at this point Calvin was quite free from that unfortunate disposition to associate the office of elder in the Reformed Church with the office of presbyter in the Church of the Apostles. It is also in keeping with the idea of the eldership among the Waldenses and the Bohemians which seem to have harked back to the polity of Augustine. The Waldenses had elders from time immemorial but no instance is at hand until after the time of Calvin in which they are classified with the presbyters. Similarly with the Bohemian Church, they had elders for centuries, yet the first instance, it is believed, in which they are found to speak of their lay rulers as presbyters is long after Calvin's death in a plan of Government and Discipline drawn up by their General Synod of 1616.

But notwithstanding the practice of Calvin, the usage of the churches upon which he moulded his polity and his clear teaching in this passage of the Institutes, this is not the theory of the Eldership commonly associated with his name. On the contrary Calvin's great name has been used to give weight to the theory which identifies the elder of the Reformed churches with the presbyter of the New Testament, invests the office with a spiritual authority and demands of it spiritual functions. According to this theory there were two orders of elders in the Apostolic Church, elders who taught and ruled, and elders who only ruled, but both alike were presbyters and shared in the authority and responsibilities of that office.

Certainly there seems to be some warrant for this view in two passages of Calvin. The first passage occurs in The Institutes, Book 4, Chapter 11, Section 1, in the passage which treats "of the jurisdiction of the Church" and appeared for the first time in the third edition of "The Institutes." "Therefore, his power of jurisdiction is, in one word, nothing but the order provided for the preservation of spiritual polity. To this end, there were established in the Church from the first, tribunals which might take cognizance of morals, animadvert on vices, and exercises the office of the keys. This order is mentioned by Paul in the First Epistle to the Corinthians under the name Governments, (1 Cor. 12: 28) in like manner,

in the Epistle to the Romans, when he says, "He that ruleth with diligence," (Rom. 12: 8). For he is not addressing magistrates, none of whom were then Christians, but those who were joined with pastors in the spiritual government of the Church. In the Epistle to Timothy, also, he mentions two kinds of presbyters, some labouring in the word, who do not perform the office of preaching, but rule well, (1 Tim. 5: 17). By this latter class there is no doubt he means those who were appointed to the inspection of manners, and the whole use of the keys." Further, in his exposition of Timothy (1 Tim. 5:7) he expresses the same views. "From this passage we may gather that there were two kinds of presbyters, because they were not all ordained to the work of teaching. For the words plainly mean that some rule well, to whom no part of the public instruction was committed. And verily there were chosen from among the people, grave and approved men, who, in common council, and joint authority with the Pastors, administered the discipline of the Church, and acted the part of censors for the correction of morals. This practice Ambrose complains, had fallen into disuse through the indolence, or rather the pride of the teaching elders, who wished alone to be distinguished."

It will be remembered that in neither of these passages is there the slightest indication that Calvin considered the function of the ruling eldership to be spiritual in its character. He limits it entirely to discipline and so far it harmonizes with his practice and his earlier teaching. The marked feature of these two passages is the authority he finds for the office in his peculiar interpretation of 1 Tim. 5: 17. He simply says that "from this passage we may gather that there were two kinds of Presbyters." He does not go beyond saying that one taught and ruled while the other only ruled. He says nothing whatever about them being equal in place and power in the early Church. From his general practice we may conclude that Calvin considered practically all of the references of the Epistles to elders as directed to the class which both taught and ruled, and that the ruling elder had a place quite subordinate to that of the other class. But while Calvin was careful not to identify the ruling elder with New Testament Presbyter

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generally, those who have interpreted the office in the light of Calvin have not always observed the same care. When it was once accepted that the ruling elder of our church is a counterpart of a class of elders in the New Testament, and when the functions of the New Testament elder are generally so manifestly spiritual, it was very natural that the eldership in our Church should have been invested with a spiritual character never dreamed of by Calvin. The common practice in our Church, believing as so many do that the office of elder with us corresponds to the office of the same name in the New Testament, is to test a man's qualifications for the office by the counsels directed to the elders by the Apostles—counsels manifestly to those who "labour in word and doctrine." Little wonder that so many of our best and most conscientious laymen cannot be persuaded to accept the office when it is set in this light.

The theory that the Ruling Elder is a presbyter and that the office, being a part of the constitution of the Apostolic Church, is of divine origin, which is generally associated with the name of Calvin is one which is open to two serious objections either of which should be sufficient to put it out of court.

It rests, so far as Scripture is concerned, on a solitary text—1 Tim. 5: 17. "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in word or doctrine." It finds in this passage the only evidence afforded by the New Testament for the existence of a twofold order of elders. Being the only evidence it should be clear and definite. But an impartial reader finds it difficult to discover any such division of elders clearly taught here. The natural interpretation of the passage is that some of the primitive elders had little capacity for anything but managing the affairs of their little church communities, while others, from greater ability or better training, were able to undertake the more important work of Christian instruction. All were to be honoured but especially the latter in view of his more important services. The reference seems to be to natural gifts rather than to official grades which were as we shall see not clearly marked in these primitive Christian communities. The Apostle evidently wishes to promote labour in word and doctrine on the part of

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all presbyters. Surely he is not asking men who were set apart to rule, as distinct from teaching, to assume the functions of another order of presbyter, from which they were supposed to be separated. The simplest and most natural interpretation is that he wished all elders to be, what the office demanded of them, "apt to teach."

Calvin's interpretation of the text leads to embarrassing conclusions when viewed in the light of other New Testament passages concerning other offices in the Church. The equality of presbyters with bishops and the interchangeableness of these two terms in the Epistles is now generally recognized. Presbyterians in their arguments with Episcopalians, have always made a point of the equality of Presbyter and Bishop and scholarship has been on their side. But if the elders of our Church are presbyters in the Pauline sense, it then follows that they must also be Bishops in the same sense. The sufficient answer is that in so doing we are making distinctions the same in principle as those which we find most reprehensible in the advocates of prelacy—a distinction between presbyters. In the one case the prelatist, in the interests of his theory, sees in the bishop a superior order of presbyter, in the other the Presbyterian in the interest of his theory of the ruling elder sees in the "elders that rule well" an inferior order of presbyter. Calvin's earlier judgment in declaring that presbyter, pastor and bishop are synonymous terms is supported by all competent scholarship, and now it is generally recognized that the New Testament knows no difference or rank or gradation among presbyters.

This theory of a twofold eldership further, proceeds upon an unwarranted view of the organization of the Apostolic Church. It thinks of the Church under the guidance of the holy apostles as having a constitution and polity which is of a piece with Christianity and binding upon the Church in all ages. This view is now abandoned by all but the most extreme partisans. Time was when controversialists spoke of the Church as having sprung into existence full grown and full armed like the fabled Minerva. They thought of the early Church as perfect in all its parts and in proportion as churches approximated this early model they approached perfection.

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But the conviction has been forcing itself upon men's minds that the forms of this heaven-begotten life in the Church were determined, as the forms of every other kind of life, by the circumstances in which it was placed, and that as these circumstances change, if this life is to maintain itself and prosper, its forms must vary accordingly by way of adaptation.

Had the inspired apostles ordered a constitution binding upon the Church in all ages we would expect them to have been at greater pains to make it clearly known than they seem to have done in such records of their work and teachings as have come down to us. There is scarcely an office referred to in the apostolic writings which is clearly defined. The first business of the Presbyter was to labour in the word and doctrine. But this was not their peculiar office, for we are told that the Christians when they fled from Jerusalem "went everywhere preaching the word." Philip was one of the deacons and yet he did the work of a presbyter and is known to us as "the evangelist". The work of superintendence over the presbyters committed to Timothy does not correspond with the parity of presbyters. But his is only what we should have expected had we remembered that this was long before the time of ecumenical councils and the leaders of the Church had not yet learned to speak with an ecclesiastical accent.

The fact is, we know comparatively little about the organization of the Church of the Apostles. From the Acts and the Epistles of St. Paul we may gather the general outlines of a plan of government which was established in some churches. But the Acts and the Epistles give us only a partial view of the Church work of St. Paul. A great part of it is not recorded, to say nothing of the work of the other apostles in planting and organizing churches. Our knowledge upon this subject extends only to a part of the practice of one apostle; to conclude that what was done by one apostle in planting some churches, was done by all the apostles in planting all the churches, is not warranted by the premises. "The presumption is", says Dr. Hill, "that instead of following one uniform course, they would, in every city, accommodate their establishments for the edification of the Christian converts, and future increase of believers, to the numbers whom they had added to

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the Church, to the population of the city, and to the qualifications for the different offices which those whom they found here appeared to possess; and that they would leave many things to be settled as the future occasions of the Church might require."

Apart from the personal authority of the apostles, the first glimpse the New Testament gives us of Church order is that of a community either without, or with the most rudimentary, organization. Such we see in the Epistles to the Corinthians. They are addressed simply to "them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus," "called to be saints," and office bearers of any kind are never once mentioned. All the more remarkable is this when we remember the references to the necessity for discipline. Reference is made to their weekly meetings but no mention is made of any one presiding. All might prophesy or speak with tongues or sing a hymn. The only rule is that they must not all speak at once. Reference is made to the collections for the saints, but no reference is made to the deacons. In Galatians no reference is made to church officers or organization. The same is true of Romans. From beginning to end there is not the slightest reference to any one who bore office in the Roman Church. They were exhorted to be subject to the civil magistrate; why not to the ecclesiastical authorities if such there were? Differences of opinion about meats and holy days were left to the decision of the individual believer.

If such was the condition of the churches in Corinth and Galatia and Rome—a condition which showed no traces of organization beyond the personal authority of St. Paul—it is absurd to suppose that all the Apostolic churches were bound one to another by a common polity. In the case of the various churches under the care of the apostle each was independent of the other and such unity as they had was constituted by their common faith and their common relations to St. Paul.

The organization of the Church arose out of the necessities of its life. And, as in the case of every other form of life, this organization was of slow and gradual development. We know how deacons came to be instituted. Circumstances arose in the Church which needed serving men and the apostles forth-

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with recommended the Christian converts to elect seven men to minister to the poor, and it was accordingly done. The only law governing the institution of the office was, the effectual working of the Church demanded the creation of deacons. In the case of the more important office of presbyter or elder we have no positive information as to its origin in the Church. But when we keep in mind the fact that the Christian Church grew on the soil of Judaism and was most intimately associated with the synagogue in its earliest life we shall find a ready and natural explanation. The Christian congregation was at first little other than a christianized Jewish Synagogue. Indeed St. James uses the very word to designate the Christian Church. That the Jewish synagogue was sufficiently elastic to cover great differences of thought and temper we see in the fact that it housed both Pharisees and Saducees. Indeed the Alexandrian Jews had a synagogue in Jerusalem; and if the type of Philo could take shelter in this old institution we need not be surprised if early Christianity did so. Christians accustomed, before their conversion, to the usages of the synagogue and to meeting under its familiar roof, would very naturally look to that old fabric for a guide when they came to feel the need of organization in their own life. "When the majority of the members of a Jewish community were convinced that Jesus was the Christ, there was nothing to interrupt the current of their former common life. There was no need for secession, for schism, for change in the organization. The old forms of worship and the old modes of government could still go on."

If the early Church followed the guidance of the Synagogue in its organization, as it seems to have done, the very first institution that confronted them in their need for social order was that body of elders which managed every Jewish synagogue, venerated for the antiquity of the office and so intimately connected with the history of Jewish piety. This model accepted by the majority of the first believers, being Jews, and associated with the mother church at Jerusalem, would naturally be copied by the early Greek Christians, though they called their assemblies not synagogues but ecclesiae. With such

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organization as the Apostolic Church had, the office-bearers did not form a caste or class by themselves, distinct from the other members of the Church. Much water would run under the bridge before the distinction between clergy and laity would be drawn. The position of the officials in relation to the body of the people in the Church was that which had long obtained in the Jewish synagogue. The officials of the synagogue were chosen from among the people and continued to live as the people lived. "They carried on their ordinary trades, wore no peculiar dress, were never supposed to possess any peculiar grace, and were, in every respect, ordinary members of society with wives and families. They were simply men who from their position or intelligence or piety, were thought competent to assist in the synagogue service, and exercise the jurisdiction of the local Sanhedrin and were appointed to do so."

This was the position of the officials of the Christian Church for two hundred years. Some were weavers, some smiths, some bakers, some shepherds, some of them were freedmen and some were slaves. They lived as did other Christians. By day they plied their secular callings, but on the evening of their meetings they were to be found in the humble meeting-places of "the brethren" giving such help as they could in the reception and instruction of new members, presiding at their holy meal, explaining the new doctrine, exhorting the brethren and giving advice in the management of the brotherhood. Common looking men no doubt these first officers of the Church were, with no outward mark to distinguish them in the crowd, only a suspicion of ecstasy shone in their faces for they had "visions of coming judgment and glory."

When there is, as appears to be the case, not the slightest warrant for believing that the forms of the Christian community, so indistinctly pictured in the New Testament writings are essential to the nature of Christianity, but were determined by the needs of the Church in the circumstances in which it found itself, many of which were peculiar to that age, it is surely a hasty conclusion to think that the forms of that age are binding upon the Church in all ages. The sanctity to

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these forms was constituted by the useful purposes which they served in the Church. And this must be the final mark of sanctity in any item of ecclesiastical constitution, viz., that it really ministers to the maintenance and extension of Christian life. It is quite true that time is the great winnower, separating the chaff from the wheat, and that what endures generally does so because of the truth or virtue that is in it. Accordingly, what has been tried and proven by time merits the greatest respect. But this is quite different from the disposition, so frequently seen in the Church, to accord a superstitious veneration to the oldest form of Church life. Assuredly every good churchman will give due deference to those forms of Christian life, either in thought or organization, which are hallowed by the imprint of the holy apostles, the first witnesses to our Lord. But devotion to the forms of apostolic Christianity, forms so often determined by circumstances peculiar to that long-gone age, may easily become a very unapostolic worship of the letter. These who spend their time labouring to reproduce in the modern Church forms of the early Church, which we can see but most indistinctly through the haze of the ages, have passed from a due reverence for the past and a worthy respect for the apostles to a formalism and servitude to the letter which is abhorrent to the spirit of the New Testament. It should be remembered that while the brazen serpent, set up by the inspired Moses, was a form through which healing came to the smitten Israelites in the wilderness, yet the worship of this old form in after years, even when it was consecrated by the greatest service, was condemned by another inspired prophet as a piece of idolatry.

ROBERT W. DICKIE.

PITFALLS IN ANTHROPOLOGY.

ONE of the commonest errors of the anthropologist is his endeavour to explain every social or religious phenomenon in the light of the latest theory. Some years ago "the survival of the fittest" was the name of a horse which was ridden to death. Mounted on its back an ingenious Uhlan in accounting for the thick skulls of the aborigines of Australia declared that it was due to the fact that the men treated their women so brutally that none but thick-skulled women survived to propagate the race. The author of this fine theory did not realize how he was giving his forefathers away.

A particularistic explanation of origins is also a fruitful source of error. The great Lippert maintains that the fate of the different races has depended on whether or not they were nourished on milk procured from domesticated animals. Those races which had an abundance of such milk advanced, he asserts, highest in culture. The more cow's milk, the higher the culture. This is why ladies in the Cream of Society bring up their children on the bottle. The fact, however, is that other things than milk can be cited whose presence or absence might be said to determine the fate of the different races—iron, for example.

The attempt to discover whether the first weapon used by man was a round stone, or a sharp-edged stone, or a club, is another instance of the particularistic pitfall. The first weapon used by man was the object at hand when the idea first occurred to him, and this idea would occur to him no doubt very soon after he realized that he could balance himself perfectly on his legs with his hands set free for this very purpose. Nor should a uniform development be looked for among all races. In one environment a stick might chance to be the first weapon at hand, in another a round stone, in another the jaw-bone of a fish.

And the classification of culture by epochs will not hold good if made absolute. The usual classification is the frugivorous, the hunting, the pastoral, and the agricultural stage.

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But you find hunting and primitive agricultural side by side, the men devoted to hunting and the women to agriculture. Amongst the Africans the pastoral, agricultural and hunting stages flourish without difference in cultural status. All tribes do not take steps in culture in the same order, and the order depends on the environment and the external influence which has been brought to bear in any given case. For example, the Zulus changed from a pastoral to a military people because their chiefs happened to see European soldiers at manoeuvres in Cape Colony. Thus it is futile to argue that the mind of a child passes through epochs corresponding to epochs of culture in races. The savage is not a modern child. He is not influenced by the copies set in civilization, and the white child is not a savage, but one whose mind is not yet dominated by the white type of culture. The savage is a being of definitely fixed aims and habits, while the child is perfectly plastic and its habits may grow in any direction. This is not to deny that there is a rough likeness between the mental development of the child and the course of civilization. Both begin with motor activities and simple habits, and proceed to reflective activities and complex habits. But there the similarity ends.

Perhaps the greatest sinner in the particularistic method of explaining social and religious change is Herbert Spencer, who sees the origin of all religions in the worship of ancestors, and who derives all the learned and artistic professions from the medicine-man. His argument for the origin of religion shortly put runs thus. The savage "lying gorged with food" often has nightmare. "He fancies himself in the clutches of a bear and wakes with a shriek; why should he conclude that the shriek was not due to an actual danger? Though his squaw is there to tell him that she saw no bear, yet she heard the shriek and like him has not the dimmest notion that a mere subjective state can produce such an effect—has indeed no terms to frame such a notion." Dreams to the savage are actual experiences. He concludes therefore that he has two individualities, the bodily one which lay beside his squaw, and the spiritual one which had wandered into the clutches of the bear. Thus the idea of spirit is begotten. In dreams too the savage sees ghosts of departed friends. So he comes to believe

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in the existence of other souls after death. Then as he paid great respect to the head of the family or his chief when alive, so he continues to pay respect to them after their death. Thus ancestor-worship arises and ancestor-worship gives rise to all other forms of worship. Animal-worship is a result of it because there is a common belief that human beings disguise themselves by taking the form of animals. Therefore the savage worships animals for fear that they might contain the spirit of an ancestor.

Plant-worship also comes from ancestor-worship. Savages get drunk on fermented juices extracted from plants, and the excitement produced is thought to be caused by spirits or demons. When the excitement is agreeable and there is no headache the morning after, the spirit is regarded as a beneficent being, probably the spirit of grandpapa who was always kind when in the flesh. When the excitement was disagreeable, the spirit was no doubt that of mother-in-law.

Nature-worship too is a form of ancestor-worship, "but one which has lost in a still greater degree [than plant and animal-worship] the external characters of its original. Partly by confounding the parentage of the race with a conspicuous object marking the natal origin of the race, partly by literal interpretation of birth-names, and partly by literal interpretation of names given in eulogy, there have been produced beliefs in descent from Mountains, from the Sea, from the Dawn, from animals which have become constellations, and from persons once on Earth who now appear as Moon and Sun. Implicitly believing the statements of forefathers, the savage and semi-civilized have been compelled grotesquely to combine natural powers with human attributes and histories; and have been thus led into the strange customs of propitiating these great terrestrial and celestial objects by such offerings of food and blood as they habitually made to other ancestors."

Thus does Herbert Spencer build up the belief in gods and the immortality of the soul from the nightmare of a drunk or gluttoned savage, and it would hardly be worth while to combat such a preposterous theory, were it not that the prestige of the author's name has gained wide acceptance for this "ghost theory", as it is called.

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In the first place there are many things which cause the savage to speculate and to reach a belief in spirits. The phenomenon of death itself is sufficient. The echo of his voice from a cliff, his own shadow cast by the sun, his reflection in a pool of water are enough to start the mind of a savage on the way to a belief in a double. The mysterious movements of the serpent, coupled with the power of its poison, caused men to worship it apart altogether from the belief that it might contain the spirit of a dead ancestor. The fact is that worship of ancestors, nature, animals and plants sprang up in different ways in different environment. No one of these elements will account for all forms of worship. It has not even been satisfactorily shown that the early Romans ever practised ancestor-worship. Vesta, one of the most ancient Roman deities, had no statue in the form of an ancestor or any other. The only form in which we know her is a wax match with a red head and a body of virgin white which, it need hardly be pointed out, is quite late. Spencer's proposition has only to be stated negatively and the absurdity of his theory is evident—if savages had never had the nightmare, they would never have reached a belief in gods.

In all fairness it should be stated that Spencer does not ignore the influence of echoes, reflections, shadows, etc., on the mind of the savage but he regards these as merely corroborative evidence. The *genesis* of the idea of spirit is in his view to be found in dreams and nightmare.

His theory that all the learned and artistic occupations are derived from the medicine-man is equally absurd. His argument is that originally the medicine-man who was also the priest, cured or was supposed to cure the sick. Therefore he is the predecessor of the physician because the physician now cures or is supposed to cure the sick. Now it is true that the medicine-man professed to cure the sick but he was not the only practitioner, and he did not even practise all branches of the healing art. He worked through magic and suggestion only, and is therefore the forerunner of that kind of modern physician dubbed the psychological, and of that kind of priest found in some of our very up-to-date churches where the parishioners, generally female, gather together and between gulps

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of tea pour their fancied ailments into the ear of the priest who cures them by his wise sympathy and artful suggestion. But the practitioner who practises his profession by means of drugs is not the descendant of the medicine-man. In the same tribe with the medicine-man there were lay practitioners both male and female who relied on drugs and surgery for their cures. It is they who are the forerunners of scientific medical practice.

It would be tedious to follow Spencer through each of the professions separately. The same mistaken interpretation of savage life runs through all his explanations. In explaining, for example, the relation of the priestly class to the development of poets, orators, dramatists and actors Spencer says: "Ovations now to the living king, now the dead king, while taking salutary and musical forms, took also verbal forms, originally spontaneous and irregular, but presently studied and measured, whence first the unrhythmical speech of the orator, which under higher emotional excitement grew into the rhythmical speech of the priest-poet, chanting verses—verses that finally became established hymns of praise. Meanwhile from accompanying rude imitations of the hero's acts, performed now by one now by several, grew dramatic representations which, little by little elaborated, fell under the regulation of a chief actor who prefigured the playwright. And out of these germs, all pertaining to worship, came eventually the various professions of poets, actors, dramatists and the subdivisions of these." Previous to this in treating of musicians and dancers it has been explained that the performers in the first place were all medicine-men.

All this false reasoning comes from Spencer's arm-chair philosophy. If we look at the facts, we find that there are races who make, recite, and act poems and dances, and yet are in so low a stage of social organization that they have no political rulers living or dead, whose deeds they could be said to celebrate in the manner described by Spencer. Many peoples have tales pure and simple which are not told by medicine-men and are not designed to account for events in the lives of chiefs or of anybody else. One great service, however, Herbert Spencer has done for the anthropologist. He has raised many

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interesting points for investigation. He has made so many bulls that it is comparatively easy for others to hit the bull's eye.

Some writers, and Herbert Spencer is not an exception, have a habit of selecting evidence favourable to a preconceived theory, and neglecting any evidence which is unfavourable. In the science of anthropology you can prove almost anything by this method, for you can find almost any practice among savage peoples, if you hunt in the right quarter. For example, suppose I wish to establish the thesis that savages are driven to cultivating the soil from lack of food and that this is the origin of agriculture. I first prove that it is the nature of the savage to make provision for his future needs. I therefore point to the Fuegians who, when they find a stranded whale, bury large portions in the sand; to the Esquimaux who store up large quantities of meat for winter's use; to the Wapato and other Hyperboreans who preserved flesh in honey in hollow trees hermetically sealed with clay. Such painstaking foresight shows that, given the right conditions, savages would take to a primitive agriculture in order to ensure a continuous supply of food.

If I wish to prove the oposite theory, namely that savages never think of making provision for the future, I quote Major W. F. Butler on the half-breeds of Manitoba: "Even starvation, that most potent inducement to toil, seems powerless to promote habits of industry and agriculture." The Rev. W. Ellis reports that the Tahitians could not be induced to plant fresh bread-fruit trees, although the missionaries pointed out that these trees were dying out. Therefore savages having no forethought could never have taken to agriculture as a means of providing for future wants.

Instead of speculating as to what savages might or might not do, the fact is that there is no instance on record in which a savage race was driven to agriculture by lack of food. The simple truth is that agriculture presupposes a comparatively advanced stage of mental development. When that stage is reached the savage will take to agriculture even if his habitat is a desert. Before that stage is reached not even actual starvation will drive him to it. Even if a tribe in a low stage of

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mental culture should possess a chief wiser than the rest who had the idea that the cultivation of the soil might help to avoid a disastrous famine, he could not enforce his idea for the social organization at such a stage does not give him the power. His authority is limited to the enforcement of tribal custom and anything that is not customary is violently resisted.

A most flagrant instance of suppressing unfavourable evidence is that in which "Honour thy father" is quoted by Sir Robert Filmer in *Patriarcha*, as proof that the Israelites lived under a patriarchal organization, the words "and thy mother" being suppressed in stating the argument. And of course Leviticus xix, 3 is ignored where the woman is named first, "ye shall fear every man his mother and his father."

Some of the deepest pitfalls into which anthropologists have fallen are a result of their assumption that primitive man has little self-restraint and no power of abstraction in comparison with civilized man. In proof of this the Australian blacks are cited as most improvident sinners because when fishing they do not throw back the small fry! Is it forgotten that the most stringent laws are necessary among white men for the preservation of game?

Innumerable misinterpretations of savage life arise from race prejudice and from the inability to distinguish between progress in culture and general intelligence on the one hand, and biological modification of the brain on the other. The development of culture is confused with development of the mind. The fact is that self-restraint depends principally on the traditions and teachings of the group to which an individual belongs. Savages show remarkable self-restraint in regard to those things which they are taught to respect. Their observance of taboos is proof of this. Lack of power of abstraction is also charged against them. It is true that the savage does not deal largely in abstractions, but it does not follow that he is incapable of abstract thinking. As to the degree in which he possesses the power to think abstractly, he compares favourably with ourselves in any test involving a fair comparison. Take, for example, the proverb which is a form of abstraction. William I. Thomas quotes many proverbs of the Africans of the Guinea Coast and compares them with

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English proverbs. The comparison is by no means unfavourable to the savage. Three examples will suffice:—

African. One tree does not make a forest.

English. One swallow does not make a summer.

African. Distant firewood is good firewood.

English. Distance lends enchantment to the view.

African. Quick loving a woman means quick not loving a woman.

English. Married in haste we repent at leisure.

Taking number as another test of the power of abstraction, we find that the lower races show no lack of ability, though of course they show lack of practice. Some very low tribes, it is true, living in isolation cannot count above five, but that is because they have little or nothing to count. The external stimulus must be provided or the mind will not exert itself to grapple with any problem. Thus we find that the more foreign trade a savage is doing, the more it knows of arithmetic. And their ability to count grows as rapidly as is necessary to keep pace with their trade.

In short, the probability is that differences between the manifestations of the human mind in different stages of culture depend on the geographical and social environment of the individual. In different races the organization of the mind is on the whole alike. A comparison of their languages, customs and activities by the most recent investigators suggests unequal development, but the differences are not sufficient to justify us in believing that the mental organization of the backward races is fundamentally different from that of the civilized races.

GEORGE WINTER MITCHELL.

THE DECALOGUE; ITS ORIGIN AND STRUCTURE.

This article is an abridgment of a thesis in which the results here embodied were worked out in greater detail. The full form may be published separately in the near future.

IF tradition were history our sources for the study of the beginnings of Hebrew religion would be ample. The last four books of the Pentateuch deal exclusively with Moses, the founder of Yahwism, his leadership of Israel, and the laws which he gave to his people by Yahweh's direct command. Unfortunately these writings are based on a conception of Moses' life and work which has become discredited. Judaism loved to picture him as the founder of its institutions. The Moses which it created wrote down all the laws of his people beforehand. He elaborated legal codes for a country which he had never seen and for a society which did not yet exist. Tradition has here dealt with him as with others. It loves to pile achievements about one great personality. It represents institutions which took centuries to develop as springing full-grown from one mind. But the actual development of laws is not so sudden nor so picturesque as this. It involves a painful evolution from precedent to precedent, and only slowly do these harden into positive enactments.

An age of scribes thought to honour Moses as the master-scribe of all. Whether the real Moses, the leader of a host which consisted partly of unlettered slaves and partly of nomad clans from a country where even today few can sign their name, ever wrote anything is doubtful; but it seems certain that his chief activity and influence lay not in his writing but in the wonderful personality which enabled him to bind the tribes of Israel together. He came not as the exponent of an elaborate legislation which his own generation could not use, but rather as a fervid believer in Yahweh, who imparted his belief to others.

It may be asserted that such reasoning is not in place in discussing literature of a divinely inspired character. With God all things are possible. He may, if he wishes, inspire a

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man to write laws for a different age from his own. But is there any evidence that He has ever done this? Does not history teach that the very writings which we have most reason to regard as inspired because of their force and beauty of thought, do not deal with laws? Rather are they grand, universal ideas such as appeal to the deepest and noblest feelings of mankind. It is incredible that God should move anyone to prepare in advance hundreds of statutes, and these not of a general nature, but including the minutest details, the most complicated situations and the subtlest relationships.

Some persons, however, feel that tradition has not wholly erred in this matter. While recongizing the bulk of the Pentateuchal legislation as late, they yet believe that a Mosaic nucleus exists, and this they find in the Decalogue itself. They believe in it the kind of work which a man like Moses in Moses' situation might be expected to produce. It is superior to the writings which lie about it. Its ethical tone suggests a prophet's mind and voice. Its freedom from ritual seems natural before national life had been stiffened by many years of custom and religious observance. It should be reverently received as a genuine gift from God through his great servant, Moses.

Whether the unique character of the Decalogue shows its greater or lesser antiquity as compared with the documents in which it now stands will form the main problem in our investigation of its origin. Like other Biblical passages the Decalogue cannot be studied properly in a detached fashion. The study of the text must be preceded by some consideration of its context. The context of Ex. 20 extends from Ex. 19 to Num. 10, including the entire book of Leviticus. It is surprising that a context need be so large, i.e. fifty-eight chapters. But the subject matter in all these chapters is substantially the same, namely, the stay of the Children of Israel near Mt. Sinai, and the laws which were given them there.

In this context scholars discover three main documents. These documents extend through the Pentateuch and they each contained an important history of the people of Israel, along with more or less legislation. The earliest and most brilliant of the histories is usually called the Jahwistic or sometimes

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simply J, because the Divine Name is usually expressed in it by the word Yahweh. It was written about 800 B.C. The second history is the Elohist or E, because God is usually named Elohim in it. It was written about 750 B.C. It does not differ greatly from the Jahwistic, although inferior in literary power. The third history was written much later than the other two, about 444 B.C. It is in the strictest sense an ecclesiastical or church history. In its present form it contains little narrative and much legislation. But it is unlikely that this document ever contained much except legislation, for its interest is in institutions rather than in men or events. Its style is business-like, with little attempt at emotion or eloquence. This document is called the Priestly document or simply P.

These three histories have been, as it were, tied together to form one composition. But they were originally quite separate, and there is really no greater fitness in their being united than there is in a volume from Macaulay being dovetailed into one from Carlyle. It is impossible to imagine any more striking unlikeness in style and outlook than that which appears in these writings. That they were brought together in this way is due to the later editors of the Pentateuch. They valued their material so highly that they sought to retain as much of it as possible. At the same time they wished to preserve some appearance of unity in the composition. The literary complex which grew out of their efforts constitutes our present text. We must bear in mind that these chapters have come down to us at the end of a literary process which extended over at least six centuries. The details are lost probably beyond recall. We must think of this work of compilation not as accomplished by half a dozen men but by an unknown host of zealous copyists and commentators, many of them working under the influence of a theological theory which has left its mark in the text. Our sources have suffered great and repeated changes. To separate the original documents from their present connection, to remove the incrustations, and rectify the displacements is necessary to an understanding of these chapters. This is not easy, and in the documents lying about Ex. 20 it is perhaps more difficult than

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in any other portion of the Old Testament. Nowhere else have the redactors taken greater liberties with their materials, or altered more radically the purpose of the older writers.

It is worth noting also that none of these histories are contemporary with the events which they describe. Moses lived about 1350 B.C. There is little in the Pentateuch that antedates the ninth century before Christ. Our oldest source, the Jahwistic document, is separated from the Exodus by over half a millenium. The Priestly document is as far from it as we are from the age of William the Conqueror. Upon what data could these writers depend to span such gulfs of time? Had they written records of a reliable character? We meet with references to such authorities as the "Book of Jasher", and the "Book of the Wars of Yahweh". But the little we can learn of these suggests that they were popular sagas rather than sober histories. Our estimate of the trust-worthiness of our sources must be affected by these considerations.

But the fact of greatest interest for our present study is that each of our three main sources contained a Decalogue. The next step then is to ascertain whether the Decalogue in any of these documents is the Decalogue of Ex. 20. If the latter could be proved to belong to the Jahwistic, Elohist, or Priestly histories, the question of its origin would be practically settled, as the dates of these works are known.

We may look at the Priestly chronicle first, because it presents the least difficulty. We easily reach the conclusion that the Decalogue of Ex. 20 does not belong to this document. For the latter is a postexilic work, composed in the fifth century B.C. But we know that the Decalogue was in existence in the seventh century B.C. for it has been copied into the Book of Deuteronomy, which appeared about 621 B.C. Again a Decalogue such as that in Ex. 20 is the least likely of any, both as regards substance and form, to appear in a work like that of P. A writer whose religion is ritual would hardly draw up a summary of religion with practically no ritual in it. And the style in both is quite different.

The Decalogue of P which, we know from statements in that document itself to have once existed, has disappeared from our extant text. It is maintained by some scholars, and

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probably with justice, that a fragment of P's Ten Words is still retained in Ex. 20: 11. "For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day and hallowed it." The language is reminiscent of Gen. 2: 2 and 3. "And on the seventh day God ended his work which he made; and he rested the seventh day from all his work which he had made." These verses are also from the Priestly document.

Having failed to find our Decalogue of Ex. 20 in P we may turn to J. But the decalogue in this document is to be found in Ex. 34: 14-26. This is the almost unanimous opinion among scholars. The stylistic marks are clearly those of the Jahwistic history. This chapter is, indeed, introduced in our Bible as a renewal of the covenant between Israel and Yahweh. Moses, having broken the two stone tables on which the first Decalogue was written, is summoned to the top of Mt. Sinai to obtain duplicates of the same. But if we except vs. 1 and 4 the chapter does not really narrate a second giving of a decalogue at all. It evidently meant to describe something wholly new, not a repetition of the old. In v. 10 Yahweh is represented as saying, Behold, I make a covenant, as though announcing something quite unknown before. If Moses was really called up to the mountain top to receive a copy of a decalogue already given, i.e. as in Ex. 20 why did he receive instead the decalogue of Ex. 34, which is as different from that of Ex. 20 as could be. We are left to infer that apart from v. 1 and the expression "like unto the first" in v. 4, which serve as the redactor's clasp or brace, there is no hint in this chapter of any previous code having been given. Ex. 34 contained originally the independent Jahwistic account of the giving of the Law.

The great Elohist document is still left. There is more *prima facie* evidence that the Decalogue of Ex. 20 belongs to it, because it actually stands within it. With hardly an exception among critics of note Ex. 20: 22 to 23: 33, containing the famous Book of the Covenant, are ascribed to the source E. In despite, however, of the fact that our Decalogue now appears in E, we cannot admit that it was the original decalogue or covenant of that document. Rather is this to be

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found in Ex. 20: 23-26, 22: 28-30, 23: 10-19. We shall write down the commands in these verses with amended text and place opposite to them the decalogue of J from Ex. 34 in order that the mutual resemblances may appear. The order of the commandments is altered to serve the same purpose.

Decalogue of E.

1. Thou shalt not make (other gods) with me.
2. Gods of silver and gods of gold ye shall not make unto me.
3. Six days shalt thou do all thy work but on the seventh day thou shalt keep sabbath.
4. Thou shalt keep the feast of unleavened bread.
5. And the feast of harvest.
6. And the feast of ingathering at the year's end.
7. Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread.
8. Neither shall the fat of my sacrifice remain until the morning.
9. The first of the firstfruits of thy land thou shalt bring into the house of Yahweh thy God.
10. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk.
11. Three times in the year shall all thy males appear before the Lord Yahweh.
12. And six years shalt thou sow thy land and gather the fruits thereof, but the seventh year thou shalt let it rest and lie still.
13. The firstborn of thy sons is mine.

Decalogue of J.

- Thou shalt worship no other god.
- Thou shalt make unto thee no molten gods.
- Six days shalt thou work, but on the seventh day shalt thou keep sabbath.
- The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep.
- Thou shalt observe the feast of weeks.
- And the feast of ingathering at the year's end.
- Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven.
- The fat of my sacrifice shall not remain until the morning.
- The first of the firstfruits of thy land thou shalt bring into the house of Yahweh thy God.
- Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk.
- Three times in the year shall all thy males appear before the Lord Yahweh.
- All that openeth the womb is mine, i.e. firstborn.

The number of commandments in E is now more than ten, but may have originally been less, as multiples of five are favoured in E. But the number ten, while convenient, is not necessary. The similarity between the two codes given above

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is very striking. It is to be explained partly by the fact that J and E arose in the same age, held substantially the same point of view, and probably made use of the same sources. But it is almost certain that the two codes have been assimilated to each other.

The problem of the origin of the Decalogue, is, after this preliminary discussion still unsolved, and can be mastered only by the direct study of that work itself.

Study of the text of Ex. 20: 1-17.

The Decalogue *par excellence* is contained in the above. The word is virtually a translation of the original Hebrew name, Ten Words, Dt. 4: 15, 10: 4 and is the most suitable title of the ethical code prefixed to the Sinaitic legislation. The name Ten Commandments is less accurate. It is also named the Testimony (Ex. 25: 21) and the Covenant (Dt. 9:9).

The division of the Decalogue into ten parts has occasioned considerable difficulty. The Greek and Protestant churches follow one arrangement, the Roman Catholic and Lutheran a second, and the Jewish, a third. These may be tabulated as follows:—

	Greek and Reformed	R.C. and Lutheran	Jewish
God the Deliverer out of Egypt	Preface	Preface	c. 1
Prohibition of polytheism.....	c. 1	c. 1	c. 2
Prohibition of graven images..	c. 2		
	cs. 3-9	cs. 2-8	cs. 3-9
Prohibition of covetousness ...	c. 10	c. 9	c. 10
		c. 10	H.D.B.

The first arrangement is favoured by most modern scholars. The 'Words' naturally fall into two groups according to the two tables of stone between which they were distributed. The first five deal with duties towards God, since honour towards parents was practically regarded as such (5th word) and may be classed under the head of "piety"; the second five deal with duties towards man, and may be classed under the head of "probity".

The evidence concerning the date and origin of the Decalogue is of two kinds—external and internal. The external testimony is obtained from the biblical histories of the Sinaitic legislation and attributed to the Decalogue the most extra-

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ordinary value and sanctity. It was first spoken by the divine voice and written by the divine hand. It was proclaimed with sublime and awful accompaniments, with the sound of trumpet and earthquake and thunder; with a whole nation assembled, while the Almighty, in flame and vapour, came down to earth. The external evidence at least means to assert that the Decalogue dates from the age of Moses, 1400 B.C. or somewhat later.

All that we have learned of the documents which make up the chapters around Ex. 20 makes us suspicious of any such date, unless it can be established by the clear testimony of the text of the Decalogue itself. It is maintained by some that this testimony exists, and it is denied by others. In other words, two main lines of opinion upon the date of the Decalogue are in evidence today:—

1. The Decalogue belongs, in its rudimentary form, to the time of Moses.

2. The Decalogue belongs, approximately at least, to the age of the documents, in which it is now embedded, i.e. 7th century B.C.

1. The Decalogue in its primitive form goes back to Moses. This view has been lately championed by Dr. J. E. MacFadyen in a very forceful and attractive manner through a number of articles in the *Expositor*. Those who agree with him greatly strengthen their case when they contend for the Mosaicity of the Decalogue not in its present form, but as a series of brief commands, which were afterwards expanded. That the Decalogue grew in the manner above indicated is hardly doubtful. We may attempt to set forth the original as follows:—

1. Thou shalt have no other gods before me.
2. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image.
3. Thou shalt not take the name of Yahweh thy god in vain, i.e. invoke his name upon a falsehood.
4. Remember the Sabbath day to sanctify it.
5. Honour thy father and thy mother.
6. Thou shalt not murder.
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
8. Thou shalt not steal.
9. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.

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10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house.

The position taken in this thesis is that any Mosaic origin of the Decalogue even in the most primitive form, cannot be proved, and is highly improbable. In support of this position we adduce the following:—

1. There is no mention of such a code for at least five hundred years after the time of Moses. The oldest portions of the books of Judges, Samuel and Kings are silent respecting it. In the works of the great prophets Amos,, Hosea, Isaiah it is the same. In Hosea 4: 2 it is true, we find these words: 'By swearing and lying and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery, they break out, and blood toucheth blood.' This verse is evidently genuine, and it has been supposed by some that Hosea knew the Decalogue, and is here quoting from it. But there is no evidence that he is quoting. The order given is different. If there was any borrowing it is just as likely that the Decalogue has borrowed from the prophet, and this, we believe, may have been the case. This silence is very remarkable, in view of the fact that in later Hebrew literature references to the work and laws of Moses are very numerous. A work like the Decalogue coming from the hand of Moses would, we might presume, be held in great reverence, and would hardly fail to receive some notice from historian or prophet.

2. The commandments themselves, so far as their evidence is decisive, pronounce against a Mosaic origin. Let us look at these in turn. 'Thou shalt have no other gods before me.' If it could be shown that this commandment imposed monotheism its Mosaic date could hardly be defended. The Hebrews were not monotheists at least till the time of the prophets, and perhaps, so far as the mass of the people were concerned, not till the exile. Judges 11: 24 indicates that the power of Chemosh, God of Moab, was recognized. 'Will thou not possess that which Chemosh thy god giveth thee to possess?' The speaker is an Israelite. In 1 Sam. 26: 19 David says, "They have driven me out this day from abiding in the inheritance of Yahweh, saying, Go, serve other gods." Ps. 95: 3 reads, "For Jahweh is a great god, and a great king above all gods," and

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Ps. 137: 4, "How shall we sing Yahweh's song upon a foreign land?" Was Moses half a millenium or more ahead of his countrymen in his theological views? While, however, the first commandment may be fairly held to teach monotheism, its language is capable of another interpretation, i.e. monolatry, which inculcates not belief in the existence of one god only, but the worship of one god. The first commandment then, we believe, cannot in fairness be used to disprove the Mosaic authorship of the 'ten words.'

It is quite otherwise with the second commandment, 'Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image.' This prohibition of idolatry reflects neither the creed nor the practice of ancient Israel. The Hebrews were idolaters long after the age of Moses. Moses himself made a brazen serpent which became an object of worship. This is in direct defiance of his own supposed enactment. We read of teraphim or idols used by Laban. It is almost certain that Laban was regarded as a worshipper of Yahweh. Otherwise there would be no meaning in Isaac's anxiety to have his son marry into Laban's family. We do read indeed that Jacob commanded his household to put away the strange gods in their possession. But the offence evidently lay in the fact that these were idols not of Jahweh, but of foreign gods. It is nevertheless true that in Genesis we have remarkably few references to image-worship. But it should be borne in mind that the scheme of Genesis was framed in an age when images were abhorred, and the compiler would be tempted to omit stories which represented the patriarchs as idolaters.

Ancient stories in the book of Judges mention the use of idols without a word of condemnation, unless it be the redactor's condemnation. Gideon's ephod was evidently an image of some kind. Micah in the same book worshipped an image of Yahweh. It is a clear case. David had idols in his house. In his problem of the Old Testament, Dr. Orr maintains that Jeroboam's calves of gold inaugurated a new religion for Israel. The redactor thought so. There is no hint that the original author of Kings did. Both Jeroboam and his people were evidently sincere worshippers of Yahweh, and considered the calves or bulls legitimate symbols of Yahweh

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worship. The main purpose in Jeroboam's reformation was to arrest the growing centralization of religion in Jerusalem. He was not introducing a new fashion, but restoring the old. Elijah and Elisha have left no word against the worship of Yahweh by images.

If a prohibition of idolatry existed in Israel from the days of Moses it was persistently disregarded. It is true that the disregard of a law need not prove its non-existence. But when zealous followers of Yahweh make images of him, and when these facts are recorded without displeasure by the writers, the natural inference is that no such prohibition existed.

The second commandment is, we think, fatal to the Mosaic origin of the Decalogue. So strongly is this felt that some scholars, like Erdmann, who believe that the other commandments may have come from Moses, would omit this one.

The third commandment, Thou shalt not invoke the name of Yahweh upon a falsehood, might come from any age. Its real meaning is still to many a matter of doubt.

The fourth commandment, Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy. That a weekly sabbath was imposed by Moses is difficult to believe. For there is no trace of it till a late date. There was indeed a sabbath which may go back to very early times. In 2 Kings 4: 23 a certain Shunamite whose wife proposes to seek the prophet Elisha asks, "Wherefore will thou go to him today, it is neither new moon or sabbath?" In Amos 8: 4 and 5 we read, "Hear ye this that swallow up the needy, that make even the poor of the land to fail, Saying, When will the new moon be gone that we may buy corn, and the sabbath that we may buy wheat, making the ephah small, and the shekel great, and falsifying the balances by deceit." These verses indicate that both new moon and sabbath were days for the cessation of business, and a fitting occasion to visit a prophet. The sabbath is mentioned again in Is. 1: 13 and Hosea 2: 13. These verses indicate that the sabbath was a day of assembling together and of rejoicing. It is interesting to note that in the older writings of the O. T. the sabbath is not mentioned except in connection with the new moon. In Babylonian the word Sapattu or Sabattu, corresponding to sabbath meant the day of the full moon. We may reasonably

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infer from this, and from the linking together of new moon and sabbath in the passages quoted above, that among the Hebrews the sabbath was originally the time of the full moon. How much of a religious character it possessed we cannot tell.

This primitive sabbath may reach back to a remote past. It is conceivable that Moses may have enjoined it but not probable. For,

1. The new moon period appears to have possessed equal importance with the sabbath, and to have been similar in character. A very ancient law would hardly include one without the other. 1 Sam. 20 indicates the importance of the feast of new moon.

2. Nothing can remove the objection that any sabbath which involves cessation of work is unsuited to a nomadic life.

3. It is remarkable that Isaiah, Amos and Hosea do not speak of the sabbath with respect. Had they regarded it as a divine and venerable institution, revealed many centuries before by God through Moses his servant, they might be expected to use a different tone. The sabbath as they knew it, was no essential part of religion.

The fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth commandments offer nothing decisive as to their date. But the prominence which they give to the duties of men towards men, at least suggests the influence of the prophetic theology. In the oldest writings of the O. T. the humanitarian note is never prominent. The social instinct is not really awake. Men are viewed not as men, but as subjects and citizens of a state.

The tenth commandment, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house," is hardly Mosaic. This commandment differs from the rest in that it lays emphasis upon motive, and not merely conduct. So far the Decalogue has considered sins of act and speech, but not of thought. Erdmann contends that the command really means, "Thou shalt not take to thyself ownerless property." This interpretation seems arbitrary. There is no reason for doubting that this 'Word' prohibits the desiring of what belongs to another, and is the most spiritual of the commandments. If a general ethical development in Israel is admitted at all, a date later than that of Moses would appear most probable.

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The use of the word *beth* or house is surprising in a command addressed to nomads. The most natural word would have been *ohel* or tent. It is true that in Gen. 27: 15 Isaac's home is called a house. The same is true of Jacob's 'household' Gen. 35: 2. But in general a distinction is observed in the use of 'house' and 'tent'. Abraham sat in the door of his tent, Gen. 18: 1. Reference is made to Jacob's tent in Gen. 31: 25, 33, 34. Lot lived in a house in Sodom, Gen. 19: 24. In Egypt the Israelites lived in houses, Ex. 12: 3, 7: 13, 23 as did also the Egyptians, Ex. 12: 30. In reward for their faith, God made the Hebrew midwives houses, Ex. 1: 21, if the text is not corrupt. In the desert however the Israelites dwelt in tents, Ex. 33: 8, 10; Num. 10: 10. When Baalam saw them they were supposed to be living in that way, Num. 24: 5, "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob!" The word 'tent' would be most suitable if Moses really gave this command.

The post-Mosaic origin of the Decalogue may be seen by comparing it with the Book of the Covenant, Ex. 20: 22-23, 33, as it now stands. Most people will admit that this book is later than the time of Moses for it presupposes a community settled in agricultural life. The fact that they could make laws for themselves and strangers as well indicates that the framers of this code were not newcomers but had well established themselves. If the Decalogue came from Moses it must have antedated the Book of the Covenant by several centuries at least. But any evidence that can be obtained goes to show that it is later. In the Decalogue we read, Remember the Sabbath day to sanctify it, and in the Book of the Covenant, Six days shalt thou do thy work, and on the seventh day thou shalt rest." The tone of these commands shows the priority of the Book of the Covenant. The command to rest on the sabbath is evidently the more natural, the more original, on the other hand the command to sanctify the sabbath presupposes a more developed stage of that institution.

The conclusion is confirmed by the general character of the two codes. The Decalogue is abstract; the Book of the Covenant specific. It is well known, to quote from Baentsch, that the abstract is later than the specific, the concrete. The abstraction always grows out of the specific. First must ex-

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perience in its manifold concrete relationships be seized and apprehended, before man rises to the abstract contemplation of the same, before the fulness of its manifold expressions can be incorporated into the frame work of abstract thought. In Israel the sovereignty of abstract ideas was reserved for the prophetic age. The prophets rose first above nationalism to the conception of the world. They suffered the special relation of Israel to Jahweh to retire behind the conception of one God of heaven and earth, in comparison with whom the other gods were nonentities.

We may notice here more fully Dr. J. E. MacFadyn's careful and scholarly articles which appear in the *Expositor*, Vol. XI, and which sought to defend the Mosaicity of the Decalogue. They advance arguments of a general nature in support of this position and examine the different commandments in turn. The writer shows how ethical ideas as lofty as any in the Decalogue were current in Babylonia and Egypt before Moses' time, and consequently he cannot see why they did not prevail among the Hebrews. But the law of the evolution of religions cannot with safety be ignored in this manner. By the time of Moses the Babylonians and Egyptians had centuries of civilization behind them, and their ideas, both on religious and other matters were fully developed, whereas the Hebrews were but beginning their course. The author again, as if anticipating some such objection as that just given, asserts that Moses like other great men may well have been in advance of his age. Great men, however, usually belong to their age as much as smaller men, often even more so; and in the face of the total want of any evidence to the contrary, we may still believe that Moses embodied in himself the thought and feelings of his own day. Dr. MacFadyn's attempt to connect the Decalogue with Moses does not seem to affect the varied and accumulated proofs that it is the result of long development.

II. The Decalogue belongs approximately to the age of the document in which it is found. The Decalogue is at present imbedded in E, one of the oldest of the three great biblical documents, and generally believed to have been composed in the northern kingdom in the eighth century before Christ.

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This, however, is not decisive as to the exact date of the 'Ten Words'. Are they as old as or older than the general contents of E or were they inserted later? We believe that the Decalogue is an insertion into the earliest E document, and may have formed part of a second, possibly a Judean, recension of E in the seventh century B.C.

The language of the 'Ten Words' does not reveal much as the code is so short especially in the short form to which we have limited it. It is, however, not unlike the style of E. I am Yahweh, thy God, reminds us of Ex. 3: 13 which belongs to E. The phrase, 'which brought thee out of the land of Egypt' is a favourite one in E, Ex. 32: 4. 'Out of the house of bondage', occurs in Jos. 24: 17 which is from E.

Our conclusion must be based on other considerations than the language. We give the following:

1. The Decalogue looks like an insertion into the text. It might be omitted without inconvenience. Ex. 20: 18 could follow immediately after Ex. 10: 19 which is the verse in E immediately preceding. Indeed so inconvenient is the position of the verses Ex. 20: 18-21 in the existing context, that many scholars would move them back so that they would stand before the Decalogue. Their obvious reason is that these verses indicate that the words of God have not been spoken to the people. We believe that according to the original context they have not, and do not begin till Ex. 20: 22. Again Ex. 20: 22b. "Ye have seen that I have talked with you from heaven," which is generally recognized as redactional, is a clear attempt of the redactor to justify the change caused by the insertion of the Decalogue. It has no connection whatever with what follows, its intrusion is otherwise meaningless, and the text gains by its omission.

2. The ideas of the Decalogue are far in advance of E. The ethical excellence of the Decalogue is manifest. It is a publication of the fundamentals of morality and religion. It contains no word of sacrifice or circumcision. It is free from national particularism. Righteousness is its only ritual. Some have even thought that when properly interpreted the Decalogue will furnish the full Christian ideal.

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The religion represented in E, both in narrative and legislation is different. It is many ways a noble religion inasmuch as it honours truth and justice, and proclaims an ethical deity. But its main interest is still in smoking altars and appointed feasts, and all the rites and ceremonies belonging thereto. And the universal note is wanting. The Book of the Covenant in its original form, is a very fitting expression of a cult of that kind; the Decalogue is not.

3. If Ex. 34 contains the Decalogue of J, it is difficult to believe that Ex. 20: 1-17 would contain that of E. It is generally recognized that the documents of J and E do not greatly differ from one another. They have distinctive qualities of style and outlook. But they represent the same type of religion. But the Decalogue of Ex. 34 and of Ex. 20 represent a different type of religion. Except in the commandments concerning images and the sabbath they have nothing in common. They do not exhibit those mutual resemblances which we would expect, in view of the fact that J and E are so like each other.

4. On the other hand we believe that the E Decalogue, if Decalogue it was, is already supplied in Ex. 20: 22-26; 22: 29-31; 23: 10-19. This bears the same relation to Ex. 34 that E in general does to J. It has certain differences, but it is essentially the same. Its present position is easily accounted for. It was split into two parts by the intrusion of the 'judgments'; the first part Ex. 20: 22-26 stands in the original place; while Ex. 22: 29-31 were moved back from their original position before Ex. 23: 20 to make room for the verses which a redactor brought over from Ex. 34. It appears probable that Ex. 20: 22-26, etc., and not Ex. 20: 1-17 formed the basis of the Horeb legislation in E.

It is difficult to believe that two codes so fundamentally unlike as Ex. 20: 1-17 and Ex. 20: 21-26; 22: 29-31; 23: 10-19, could form part of the same covenant. But it is easy to understand that when the Decalogue of Ex. 20: 1-17 first appeared, its greatly superior excellence would justify its being placed at the head of God's revelations to his people, while the original covenant was allowed to drop down, and serve as a kind of pendulum, as it does at present.

The 'Ten Words' are later than E¹ and belong perhaps to E². The interval of time between them need not have been very great, not more than three-quarters of a century. But that interval was one of the greatest epochs of transition through which the human mind has passed; for across it, like a mountain range, there stretches the work of Hosea, Amos, Isaiah and Micah, sowing germinal ideas broadcast, destroying the old, and bringing in new forms of thought. The Decalogue clearly shows the influence of the prophetic theology. It has even been called "a summary of prophetic religion." We are not sure that it quite deserves this tribute. Its retention of the sabbath, its general externality, which values deeds above motives, and which called forth the dissatisfaction of Jesus, the most genuine of the prophets, shows its limitations. Its excellence as compared with older codes is perhaps not so much in what it includes, as in what it leaves out. But this of itself represents a revolution in thought, and an advance towards the prophetic ideal.

What other portions of the Pexateuch first appeared in E² we cannot tell. Some would include the story of the molten bull, Ex. 32, because among other things it shows a hatred of idolatry more intense than is found in E¹.

The Decalogue probably grew into its present form in the following manner. The primitive form appeared about the year 675 B.C. very probably, and was inserted into E perhaps by the redactor JE. The earliest expansions took place in the second, third, fourth and tenth commandments, and were probably added by the redactor RJE himself as they show traces of his style. Thus "thou shalt not bow down thyself," is like Ex. 23: 24 and Josh. 23: 7, which are in this redactor's manner; "for I Yahweh thy god am a jealous god" is suggestive of Josh. 24: 19, 3x, 34, 14b, both probably from the same hand; "visiting the iniquity," etc. is like Ex. 34: 7; Nu. 14: 18, 33. "Six days shalt thou labor," etc. is probably suggested from Ex. 23: 12. The additions to commandments four and ten are suggested from Ex. 23: 12. The additions to commandments four and ten are from the same hand, or at least in the same style. The author of Deuteronomy (621 B.C. or a little earlier) found the code already in existence, and incor-

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porated it into his work, in the form in which he found it, i.e. the original commands and the additions of RJE in the second, third, fourth and tenth commandments. He made hardly any changing in the existing text, but he made additions which were, in part, afterwards transferred to the Exodus version, e.g. the phrase, "thy stranger that is within thy gates," in c.4, which phrase is distinctly deuteronomic, Dt. 14, 21, 27-29; 31: 12, etc. Also the present expansion to the fifth commandment, "that thy days may be long upon the land which Yahweh thy god giveth thee," is deuteronomic, Dt. 11: 9; 25: 15. Deuteronomy evidently found the Decalogue in Ex. where it now stands, i.e. at the head of the Horeb legislation. His change of the word house to wife in C.10 is in harmony with his point of view. The latest part of the Decalogue is v. 11 which gives the origin of the sabbath. It may be a trace of the Decalogue of P, or an expansion of it. Thus the 'Ten Words' were finished about the fifth century before Christ, and in this final form they have come down probably without any change to the present day. The Septuagint renders them as in the Massoretic text, including all additions.

The Decalogue has had a wonderful history. It has influenced both Jewish and Christian thought more than any other equal portion of the Old Testament. Thousands of persons who know little of the chapters which surround it, and indeed little of the Bible in general, know the Decalogue and have sought to keep it. Nor is its authority likely to grow less, appealing as it does to what is best in men. Its very externality strengthens its hold over many minds, as the average man is swayed less by general principles than by definite precepts. Hence (as a working summary of religion) it has not been superseded by the far loftier teachings of Christ, but works together with them. We would not have it otherwise. While we may not regard the 'Ten Words' as the work of Moses, we can thank God for this noble monument of the age of the prophets.

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SIR WILFRID LAURIER.

“Faith is better than doubt;
Love is better than hate.”

(Sir Wilfred Laurier to the Young Liberals at London, October, 1916.)

SIR WILFRID came upon the scene at the beginning of a new era in Canada. From the Conquest of Quebec to the Confederation of the Provinces, the Canadas had passed through a long struggle for self-government and representative institutions. While Canada was achieving these reforms, the Eastern provinces, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, were also working out their own salvation along the same lines. During the last years of the experiment of uniting the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, we reached a crisis in our development which led to the Confederation of all the Eastern mainland provinces. It is from this time that our national life may be said to date; and at this time Sir Wilfrid Laurier began to play that brilliant role in the shaping of the destiny of Canada which he played consistently up to his death a few weeks ago.

Throughout his whole career the guiding principles of his life were the same. His ideas and ideals of government and the principles of concord and amity, laid down in his valedictory when leaving the McGill Law School, are the same as those enunciated at different times in Canada, in London at the Imperial Conferences, and before the Eastern Liberal Association in Ottawa just a few weeks ago, when he said the following words:

“As for you who stand today on the threshold of life, with a wide horizon open before you for a long career of usefulness to your native land, if you will permit me after a long life, I shall remind you that already many problems rise before you: problems of race division, problems of creed differences, problems of economic conflict, problems of national duty and national aspiration. Let me tell you that for the solution of these problems you have a safe guide, an unfailing light, if you remember that faith is better than doubt, and love is better than hate.

“Banish doubt and hate from your life. Let your souls be ever open to the strong promptings of faith and the gentle

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influence of brotherly love. Be adamant against the haughty; be gentle and kind to the weak. Let your aim and your purpose, in good report or in ill, in victory or in defeat, be so to live, so to strive, so to serve as to do your part to raise the standard of life to higher and better levels."

The keynote of all these statements is toleration, sympathy, understanding, fair play, and over and above all, patriotism and a jealous love of Canada, of her land, her peoples, her climate, her institutions,—yes, everything that went to make Canada what he knew and loved and conceived her to be. He loved Canada first. He believed that in strengthening Canada he was in the best way possible building and strengthening the Empire. He believed that in jealously watching over the rights of the Provinces, the rights of the individual, he was thereby promoting the best interests of Canada, and he believed that upon these principles, not alone Canada, but the Empire could be strongly built up. From the beginning he was a federalist, and during the years when the new Constitution had to withstand the most violent attacks, both from those within our own country who should have been the first to defend it, as well as from those without, who were only waiting an opportunity to find a weak spot against which to attack, he stood fearlessly her strong defender.

With the birth of the Dominion, July 1st, 1867, the old regime passed away, the old epoch was dead. But the lessons of the struggles that had been fought for freedom, liberty, justice and fair play, remained in the memory and were the heritage of the generation that lived to enjoy the fruits of the emancipation that had been achieved by those early patriots, Baldwin, Lafontaine, Mackenzie and Papineau.

Confederation had been achieved, but the peoples of the provinces so brought together were very largely strangers to one another, and in the two Western provinces race and religious strife increased the difficulty of governing the country. To Sir John Macdonald and those associated with him fell the task of finding a common ground of national interest to bind together the provinces that up to that time had had little or nothing in common in the way of trade, of social life or of national aspirations. Railroads must be built, law courts must

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be established, commercial policies must be laid down, the rights of the provinces must be determined and new avenues of trade must be opened, and a new empire in the West, sparsely populated, having no connection whatever with the older provinces, must be brought into the new Dominion, and railroads built to establish lines of communication between East and West.

These were gigantic tasks. The problem of finance alone, to say nothing of other problems, was a vast one. In the light of conditions as they then were, one is forced to a new appreciation of Sir John Macdonald's statesmanship, his great courage, and the broad sweep of his vision. While there may be many things in his political career which must be condemned, yet a proper understanding of the difficulties which faced him at this time must make one look leniently on many of the methods by which he sought to maintain himself in power. From 1867 to 1891 Sir John Macdonald was at the head of the Government of Canada continuously, with the exception of four years from '74 to '78. During these years the national life of Canada had taken form, channels of trade had been established, the railroads had been built, commercial policies had been adopted, the great struggle for Provincial rights had been fought and won, and the general principles underlying the Government of Canada had been well laid and accepted both East and West.

During this formative period of the Dominion, Sir Wilfrid Laurier whether as a member of the bar of Montreal, a member of the Legislature at Quebec, a private member at Ottawa, a member of Mackenzie's Government, or as leader of the Opposition, was contributing his share to the solution of the problems that faced the young country. From the beginning we have seen, he was a federalist, and when the conflict between the Dominion and the provinces arose, he espoused the cause of the provinces and lent every assistance to the winning of their fight for the full rights of autonomy under the constitution. All the while that he was playing his part in assisting the country as regards commercial policies, as regards questions of Provincial rights and as regards political problems, he was preaching in season and out of season, his gospel of amity, race concord, liberty and freedom.

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Sir John Macdonald's contribution to the constructive statesmanship of Canada ended with the election of 1887. From that time to his death, whether due to age or because of the fact that his administration had become discredited through the political methods taken to maintain it in power, he gave very little if anything to the upbuilding of the national life: the measures for which he was responsible after '87 were largely reactionary. It would almost seem as though all his energies and power had been exhausted in the tremendous work of building of railroads and other constructive measures necessary to bind the Provinces together. At the end of his career, while these great works had been accomplished, the people of the different provinces were very much in the same position in their mental attitude towards the people of the other provinces as they had been when Confederation was brought about. The national life of the country almost seemed to bog, and there came about disunion, race and creed differences, trade stagnation, apathy, and the loss of population by hundreds of thousands. We had almost lost faith in our country, and we had begun to question whether we had the genius for government and for national development. For lack of a better word, we might say that the spiritual soul or national life of the country had not grown or kept pace with material development.

At almost the darkest hour Sir Wilfrid took office. He took Canada, the organized machine, the machine that was functioning commercially and politically, that was functioning to a very small extent internationally, and he breathed into the body politic the essence of the principles which he had been teaching for a generation,—the idea of hope, faith, concord, amity and fair play,—and lo! there was born in Canada a new national policy of belief in the country, belief in ourselves, of understanding of one another, of amity and race accord, and of new aspirations, new hopes and new ambitions.

Sir Wilfrid and Sir John had this in common: that they both understood the psychology of peoples, they both understood the full difficulties of governing a people made up of so many divergent elements as the population of Canada, and they both understood that these diverse elements must march to-

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gether if progress was to be made. It must not be forgotten, however, that Sir Wilfrid was called upon to govern a people the majority of whom were alien to himself in blood and tradition, as well as in language and religion. It is because of this that what he did in the way of bringing about national unity and in creating Canadian national sentiment that his work for Canada has greater significance than if accomplished by an English-speaking Canadian.

What then composed the equipment which enabled Sir Wilfrid to thus carry on in season and out of season, in good report and in evil report, and follow the gleam of national unity through all these years? To catalogue all his significant qualities would be impossible, but there are certain outstanding characteristics which one cannot overlook. First of all he was possibly the greatest practical psychologist of his age. There have been few statesmen in the last hundred years who gave such close attention to the psychology of peoples and of nations as Sir Wilfrid Laurier. There was scarcely in the whole wide world any peoples anywhere about whom there existed either a literature or a history, with whose traditions, ways of life, habits, and mentality he had not made himself thoroughly acquainted. It was this equipment toward understanding, appreciating and sympathizing with not alone the people who belonged to himself, but those peoples who are alien to him, that gave him his greatest strength. Speaking to a close personal friend upon one occasion, the writer happened to mention this particular side of Sir Wilfrid's character, and without thinking of the significance of his statement, he replied, "No one, whether of high or low degree, meeting Sir Wilfrid in his official capacity or socially, ever left his presence humiliated." It is probably true that there are only a half a dozen characters in history of whom this can be said—that it was true none will dispute. It just means this: that Sir Wilfrid embodied in himself all of that which was best in every man's character, and that coming into his presence one felt that everything of littleness and meanness was gone and that you were meeting one who understood perfectly the problem that was confronting you at the moment.

Next to his understanding of the psychology of peoples,

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his most outstanding characteristic was his broad reading. There were few subjects either in history or art or literature with which he was not acquainted, and his knowledge of the English classics was profound and appreciative. He lived in the atmosphere of Milton, of Burke, of Fox, of Gladstone, and he himself exemplified the best of each of them. The influence of Lincoln upon Laurier was very marked. Nothing that was ever written of Lincoln escaped his attention and he was familiar with everything that Lincoln had ever said that has been recorded.

There is a third characteristic which possibly meant more to him and to Canada than either of the other two, and that was his sublime courage in face of adversity and in the midst of difficulty. Examine his career from the beginning and it will not be found that at any time he ever allowed the public to stand in doubt as to his position on any great question, and never did he take a position on any great question that was not entirely consistent with the great principles to which he had sworn allegiance in the early days of his political life. As he himself said upon many occasions, he was neither unduly uplifted by victory, nor cast down by defeat. Next to this great courage, the outstanding feature of his character was his urbanity and his poise.

Nor must we overlook that which enabled him to hold unrivalled sway over the people of Canada for fifteen years—his statecraft. In this he was heir of all ages. He had sat at the feet of Sir John Macdonald, he had been a colleague of Alexander Mackenzie and a friend of Mowat, and he was by experience thoroughly familiar with every Canadian statesman of note during a period of thirty years previous to the time he took power. He was also familiar with the statecraft of the leading statesmen of Europe and America, and to this knowledge undoubtedly is due the marvelous control he exercised, not alone over his Cabinet, but over Parliament and in the country during the years of his premiership.

When Sir Wilfrid Laurier came to power in 1896 the conditions in Canada had reached their lowest ebb in almost every direction. Trade depression, sectional disunion, political cor-

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ruption and maladministration had brought the country to apathy and nearly to despair. In the midst of these chaotic conditions, Laurier announced, previous to the elections of 1896, that if he were returned to power, people would not require statistics to prove the existence of prosperity and the return of happiness. During the whole period of his premiership from 1890 to 1911, the country was marvelously prosperous. There was a tremendous growth in trade and commerce; farm lands doubled and in some cases trebled in value; where there formerly were deficits there were surpluses; where there had been doubt and uncertainty there were confidence and stability. The tide of emigration was turned to a tide of immigration, but best of all—harmony was restored, contentment became a habit and general happiness obtained among the whole Canadian people such as the most hopeful had never dared to dream of. World-wide factors beyond any man's power to affect played their part in this transformation, but the courage and the confidence of the country's leader aided incalculably in enabling men to seize the passing opportunity.

The outstanding events of this period were; first, the introduction of the Fielding tariff, with the British preference. The Fielding tariff created confidence at home and the British preference stimulated interest in Canada abroad and placed the country in an harmonious relationship to the Mother Country, both politically and commercially. The good results following from the stabilizing of the tariff and introduction of the preference were tremendously augmented by the introduction of penny postage. The expansion and progress and prosperity of the years following were in no small way due to these measures.

Second, following these measures of prime importance there was an accelerated immigration policy. The new conditions in Canada were such as to justify the country opening its doors and inviting people to make their homes among us. But better still than the influx of thousands of people to develop our resources and make their homes among us, the exodus of our own people to the United States was arrested, and for the first time there had been found a way to retain our own people in the country. The result was the creating of new markets

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at home for the expanding industries, and the opening up of new markets abroad.

Third, the different departments of the Government were efficiently administered, so that throughout the country and in the minds of people abroad confidence was established in the future of Canada to such an extent that the eyes of all those who had money to invest, those who wished to improve their conditions, and those in search of a wider and broader liberty were turned towards us.

But it was not alone at home that changes were brought about. With his first visit to London the status of Canada in the Councils of the Empire took on a new meaning. He took new and advanced ground as to the place of the self-governing Dominions in the Empire. His course of action clarified and crystallized the attitude of the British Government toward the Dominions and cleared away much that had been doubtful in the position for generations. The interpretation of British institutions to British statesmen by a French-Canadian premier struck the imagination of the people of Britain, and Sir Wilfrid, because of his unique position, was able to do what possibly no English-speaking premier of any of the Dominions could have accomplished. He embodied in himself the very flower of British liberty; he exemplified before the eyes of Englishmen the results that would flow from an enlightened policy as regards those in the Empire who were alien to the English blood and tradition. Not only was the imagination of the British people touched by this spectacle, but British statesmen themselves met a colonial statesman who was able to give a new and a clearer definition to British institutions than the best of themselves had ever attempted. When Sir Wilfrid left London after the jubilee of the Old Queen it was only after he made conquest of both the minds and the hearts of the people.

But his greatest triumph as an Empire statesman came in connection with South Africa. Almost immediately upon his arrival in London in 1897 he found himself in conflict with the then Colonial Secretary, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. Their views on almost every question affecting the relations between the self-governing dominions and Great Britain were diametri-

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cally opposed. Chamberlain was at that time at the zenith of his career and was indulging along with Cecil Rhodes, Lord Milner and other sympathizers in a dream of a centralized Empire with an Imperial Parliament in London. While there was conflict between the views of Sir Wilfrid and Chamberlain in 1897, the real cleavage did not come until the Conference in 1902 over the question of the Government of South Africa. It is well known that when the Conference was called the main question on the agenda paper was the Government of South Africa. Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Milner had decided the course of action to be taken as regards this question and they did not wish the Conference to discuss the proposal so much as to endorse what they had already decided.

It had been decided previous to the Conference that the whole of South Africa should be reduced to the status of a Crown Colony with Lord Milner as administrator. Natal and the Cape had enjoyed a measure of self-government and it was now proposed to take away from these two colonies this measure, and to organize the Transvaal and the Orange Free State along with them as a crown colony to be administered from London. After the Conference had been in session for some time, Sir Wilfrid, being called upon, made his position clear in the following language: "The problem which is before the Conference is a very simple one. It is, how we are to take these people who yesterday were our enemies and make them good citizens of the Empire! There is only one way to do this. Yesterday we fought them because we claimed and believed that our institutions were superior to theirs. We conquered—they lost. It is now for us to demonstrate to them that the institutions for which we claim superiority are indeed superior and we can best do this by offering to them the greatest measure of freedom under these institutions, namely, the right to work out their own salvation by governing themselves. To take a step of this kind requires courage and vision, but if taken, it may be within the life time of those gathered here the value of such enlightened action will be proven." This was indeed interpreting British institutions and British liberty to British statesmen in a way that made them gasp. His words carried weight, though it was not until men who had been

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brought up in his own political school and ideals of government came to power, that the policy he urged was adopted. The course of the Government was looked upon by many people both in the Empire and in other countries as bordering on madness and sure in the end to lead to catastrophe. Sir Wilfrid's belief in the solution of the problem as outlined was never for a moment shaken. And what a vindication his solution has had! Who could ever have dreamed in 1900 that the men who were embattled against us at that time would be fighting with us less than twenty years later shoulder to shoulder to preserve liberty to the world? What a picture! and what a story, almost too wild for romance, that a French-Canadian prime minister of an overseas dominion should stand midst the statesmen of Britain interpreting British institutions, blazing a new trail of liberty and giving a new meaning to all that is best in British traditions. Less than twenty years, and the Dutchmen of South Africa are fighting on the fields of Flanders, beside the brothers and sons of Canadians against whom they were embattled in South Africa. In less than twenty years two Dutch statesmen of South Africa sit in the Peace Conference at Paris, embodying in themselves the spirit of British liberty and British institutions, framing a peace that shall guarantee liberty and security to the small peoples of the world. Sir Wilfrid was not only a great national statesman. The principles upon which he essayed to build the national life of Canada are the only principles upon which international life may be safely constructed.

But his good work of creating a better understanding was not confined to Canada and the Empire. Visiting Paris after the 1897 and 1902 conferences, he found the French people hostile and bitter against England over the Fashoda affair, and later over the South African war. He sought to convince President and people that the interests of France and England were not antagonistic but lay in common action and co-operation. Speaking in the Church of the Madeleine in Paris at the funeral of the Honorable Raymond Prefontaine, President Loubet stated that it was Laurier who had initiated the movement which resulted in the Entente Cordiale between France and England, and there are letters from Loubet to Sir Wilfrid,

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acknowledging in the warmest possible terms the debt France owed him for his part in bringing about a better understanding. The application of Sir Wilfrid's principles, whether to the affairs of Canada, the affairs of the Empire or international relations, in each case resulted in better understanding, greater co-operation, greater unity and greater accord.

His Last Fight

There are many in Canada who have viewed with a feeling of sadness, sometimes akin to pity Sir Wilfrid's course during the past two years, but if they will take the trouble to examine without prejudice the whole situation as it now appears, it will be seen that Sir Wilfrid in 1917, as throughout his whole life, was true to the principles which had guided his actions always. It would have been so easy for Sir Wilfrid to have snatched popularity and popular acclaim in 1917. He never deceived the people of his native province, much less did he deceive others. Well he knew what the struggle would cost him, so far as the English-speaking people were concerned, but in order to save Canada, in order to preserve the bond of Confederation, he was willing to sacrifice himself, in order that faith might be kept with the people who had always trusted him and to whom he had pledged his word. At no time during the campaign did he ever feel that there was any chance of attaining power. In August he wrote as follows: "I do not know how the elections may go, but this is the least of my concerns. I do not care to assume office under existing circumstances and at my age. But as long as God keeps me in health I will never fail to discharge the duties with which I may be entrusted in the light of the principles which have always guided my life," and again he wrote a little later, "I would like to observe to you that a victory for the Party at the next elections is a secondary consideration. If we have to take office we should do so with a firm heart and try our best, but taking office for the sake of office is a thing not to be thought of. The question is simply, Shall we have constitutional government or not?"

During all this time of difficulty and trouble no word of complaint or of bitterness ever escaped him, either as to the conditions under which he had to make the fight, nor about

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those who deserted him when he most needed them. It is comforting to think, and there seems good ground for so thinking, that in the end the people of Canada came to have a new appreciation of his course of action. When he passed away, there would seem to have been some self reproach mingled with the general feeling of sorrow that his great and brilliant life had closed. As time goes on, the appreciation of his life and character will deepen in the hearts of the people, and the example of what a public man should be will always remain as the common possession of the Canadian people.

A. KIRK CAMERON.

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IN the Catholic revival or reaction that followed the wild excesses and bitter persecutions of the French Revolution, three men stand out prominently, as apologists for the ancient faith, Joseph de Maistre, Chateaubriand, and Lamennais. They were defenders of Christianity, which for them meant the Roman Catholic Church, at a time when it appeared to be hopelessly discredited, and by their literary merits and representative character have gained a prominent position in the history of modern France. De Maistre is the logician and theologian, Chateaubriand the poet and sentimentalist, while Lamennais begins as an apologist and ends as a prophet and reformer.

"Chateaubriand had much in him of the Byronic temper; he was gloomy, vain, volatile, ambitious, yet when he looked at the future his eye carried him beyond monarchies, nay, beyond republics and democracies into a Christian Utopia. Had the word "solidarity" been known to him, this clear-sighted man would have told his generation that in the city of God alone could solidarity be found. However, when he exchanged the poet's garland for the pomp and state of a magnificent ambassador, René was lost to the crowd. He felt grieved over it, and could not forsake the vanities which he knew to be most hollow." (Quarterly Review, Vol. 885).

"Chateaubriand cannot be loved and his character cannot be admired without grave reserves. But a unique genius enabled him to play a most significant part in the history of literature. He was the greatest of landscape painters; he restored to art the sentiment of religion; he interpreted the romantic melancholy of his age. If he posed magnificently, there were native impulses which suggested the pose, and at times as in the *Itinéraire*, the pose is entirely forgotten. His range of ideas is not extraordinary; but vision, imagination, and the passion which makes the imaginative power its instrument, were his in a supereminent degree." (Dowden, French Lit., p. 353).

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As one sign of his literary influence we may note that Victor Hugo in 1816, then 14 years old, wrote in his M.S. book, "I wish to be Chateaubriand or nothing."

His famous book *La Génie du Christianisme* begins thus: "Since Christianity appeared on the earth, three kinds of enemies have constantly attacked it, the heresiarchs, the sophists, and the apparently frivolous who destroy it while laughing at it. Numerous apologists have replied victoriously to subtleties and lies but they have been less fortunate against derision." Facing the slanders and scorn of their adversaries, he thinks that it was the business of the apologist to show that "the Christian religion is the most poetic, the most human, the most favourable to liberty, to arts and letters, that the modern world owes everything to it, from agriculture to the abstract sciences, from the hospitals for the unfortunate to the temples built by Michael Angelo and decorated by Raphael." (p. 10). This shows the spirit and style of his apologetic and before passing from him one brief quotation may be made to illustrate the extent to which his theology was dominated by the aesthetic point of view. "As a matter of fact we have no Christian hell treated in an irreproachable manner. Neither Dante, Tasso nor Milton are perfect in picturing the abodes of sorrow. However, some excellent pieces sketched by these great masters prove that, if all parts of the picture had been touched with the same care we would have possessed hells as poetic as those of Homer and Virgil."

Before allowing De Maistre to speak for himself, we may give two brief pertinent quotations from English critics. "Joseph De Maistre was another kind of prophet, rude, paradoxical, insolent, armed, we will say in rusty iron, not with eloquence, that sent his adversaries to a 'death-compelling sleep', but with sarcasm, satire, prejudice, and yet with a philosophy the scope of which was union and a world undreamt of by Jacobin and Gallican. He believed that it was the mission of France to regenerate Europe—but of a France wielding the sword of Charlemagne at the behest of Rome. He despised Port Royal, cut in pieces the Four Articles, did not shrink from laying violent hands on Bossuet, wounded Voltaire with his own arrows and boldly declared 'The Church

is beginning anew; confessors and martyrs must march in the van; we are on the threshold of the greatest of religious epochs; sovereignty in the temporal order is infallibility in the spiritual; and both must be recognized if we would conquer the Revolution.' Such were the principles, such the deductions from them pregnant with historical consequences, which, after twenty years of experience and reflection De Maistre presented to thousands of readers, captivated, indignant or scornful, but always attentive in his memorable treatise 'Du Pape.' It sounded a challenge to the enemy who was not then in force to reply. Sainte Beuve would have us imagine that De Maistre rode forward alone, a single David against whole armies of Philistines. But the almanack which cannot deceive tells us that almost at the very moment when Savoy had thus sent on its preux Chevalier, a second not less daring and far more powerfully accoutred rode up by his side. It was the Abbe de Lamennais who bore in his hand the most celebrated book which any priest had published since Bossuet, the 'Essai sur L'Indifference.' "

Dr. E. Dowden compresses De Maistre's religious philosophy into a few sentences: "Without religion there is no society; without the Catholic Church there is no religion; the Sovereignty of the Pope is therefore the keystone of civilization; his it is to give and take away the crowns of Kings,—Governments absolute over the people, the Pontiff absolute over governments,—such is the earthly reflection of the Divine Monarchy in heaven. To suppose that men can begin the world anew from a Revolutionary year One, is the folly of private reason, society is an organism, which grows under providential laws, revolutions are the expiations for sins. Such are the ideas which Maistre bound together in serried logic, and deployed with the mastery of an intellectual tactician. The recoil from individualism to authority could not have found a more absolute expression."

To show that this terrible logician is not without eloquence we may translate a passage from his famous treatise: "O Holy Church of Rome, as long as speech remains to me I will use it to celebrate thee. I salute thee immortal mother of society and sanctity! *Salve Magna Parens*. It is thou who

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hast spread light to the ends of the earth, wherever the sovereignties have not hindered thy influence, and often even in spite of them, it is thou who hast caused human sacrifice to cease, the barbarous or infamous customs, the night of ignorance, and wherever thy messengers have been unable to penetrate something is lacking to civilization. Great men belong to thee. *Magna Virum!* Thy teachings purify science from this venom of pride and independence which renders it always dangerous and often fatal. Thy Pontiffs will soon be universally proclaimed supreme agents of civilization, creators of European monarchy and unity, preservers of science and acts, founders, protectors or civil liberty, destroyers of slavery, enemies of despotism, unwearied supporters of sovereignty, benefactors of the human race, etc.”

Félicité Robert de Lamennais, like Chateaubriand and Renan, was a Breton; he was born at St. Malo, June 9th, 1782. Through his grandmother he had Irish blood in his veins. His father made a fortune as a ship-owner, and was ennobled in the reign of Louis XVI on account of his public generosity. He was forced to go with the tide during the Revolutionary period but secretly remained loyal to the Church. From the first the child Félicité or Feli, as he was called, continued to be weak and delicate; soon after his birth he was almost carried off by an internal disease which troubled him all his life. As a youth he was of a brooding temperament, passing between extremes of quiet melancholy and restless excitement. When only eight years of age he felt that he was different from the common crowd, looking out upon the stormy sea, he said, “They are looking at what I am looikng at but they do not see what I see.” (*Ils regardent se que Je regarde, mais ils ne voient pas ce que Je vous*).

Here is a picture of the religious situation in the days of his boyhood; speaking of his father his biographer says: “Had any of his Republican friends been present, on certain days, in a small upper room in the Hotel de la Mennais, they would have been somewhat taken aback by th eunexpected picture which would have presented itself to them. There, in the early hours of the morning, they would have seen a group of kneeling worshippers glancing round or starting at the slight-

est movement in the street below, while in their midst, standing before an improvised altar, a non-juring priest was saying Mass. They might have noticed one of the sons of the house, Jean-Marie, performing the office of server, while his younger brother Feli sat by the door and listened anxiously for the slightest sound.”* It is easy to understand the effect of such scenes on a boy of romantic temperament and at the most impressionable age, and how bitter hatred of the Revolution was sown in the heart of a man who was destined to finish his career by regarding it as a great movement and preaching its noblest principles. In the midst of this excitement he found it impossible to settle down to the routine of his father’s business; he felt that he had a mission but could not tell exactly what it was. His education was irregular, though wide and comprehensive, he was an omnivorous reader and had a passionate love of mathematics, languages and music. His brother Jean had no such uncertainty but felt himself from his earliest childhood called to the service of the Church; he was ready either for quick martyrdom or for slow, painful ministry in those distracted days. The power of organization rather than the gift of restless thought was his endowment; and he gained great influence by founding The Brothers of Christian Instruction and The Society of St. Peter, a centre and organ of ultramontane influence. One of the most painful things in this strange story is the separation of the two brothers when the final crisis came, and the cry wrung from the weary fighter, “I am sick at heart because I shall break his heart.”

At the age of 25, after a distressing illness, Feli de Lamennais turned his attention once more to religion in a serious spirit. He was wearied of “the bitter joys of the world,” and expressed a passionate desire to suffer hatreds, outrages and crucifixion for the sake of Christ. A prayer that was to be abundantly answered before he was done with the Church and the world, and he who was to spend so much of his energy in barren controversy said that a “single word of St. Francois de Sale or of the ‘Imitation’ was worth more than all those con-

**The Abbe de Lamennais and The Liberal Catholic Movement in France*, by H. W. Gibson, p. 11.

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troversial pamphlets which dry up the soul." At this time he was engaged in the study of physical science, biblical criticism and metaphysics; he is told by his uncle that his logic is "very rigid, very severe, and very ruthless," and it was suggested that he might soften it a little. At that time the conflict between Napoleon and the Pope was at its height, and he plunged into the controversy with the result that one of his books was seized by the police. In 1811, from his retreat in Brittany (La Chenaie) he writes to his brother: "How Providence plays with human passions and with the power of men who are called great! There was one who had forced the world to bow before him, and suddenly some poor bishops saying, 'I cannot' broke that power, which thought that nothing could stand before it—in his very capital at the seat of his empire. How divine, etc." He and his brother produced a joint work in defence of the Pope's rights in the institution of bishops but it was not allowed to appear till after the fall of Napoleon in 1814.

In the following year, when Napoleon escaped from Elba, Lamennais found it advisable to retire to England, where he lived under the assumed name of Patrick Robertson. This striking picture is given by Mazzini: "In 1815 a young foreigner of modest aspect and timid bearing presented himself at the town residence of Lady Jermingham, sister-in-law of Lord Stafford. He went, with an introduction I know not from whom, to seek a humble situation as a teacher. He was poor and poorly dressed. Without even bidding him to be seated, the lady put a few laconic questions to him, and then dismissed him without engaging him, because—as she told a friend—he *looked too stupid*. That young man was Lamennais." With his imperfect knowledge of the language, his sensitive temper, and restless intellectual condition he was naturally drawn into the company of priests and ladies, who like himself had been driven from his native land. By the pressure of circumstances and the persuasion of friends he was led to take the decisive step of joining the priesthood. In the light of all the circumstances this must be regarded as a false step by a man who was morbidly eager to crucify himself in the path of duty. One of his friends writes: "He pushes obedience so far as to say

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Mass nearly every day, *in spite of the horror which he seems to have of the priesthood*, and we are doing everything to occupy and divert his mind."

After the defeat of Napoleon, he returned to Paris, and as a Royalist believed that the only safety for France was under a legitimate ruler. But he was profoundly discontented with the condition of religion and the position of the Church under the new government. Napoleon had reduced the Church to a department of State and made the priests more than ever a section of the civil service. Under a feeble ruler and an unstable government this was even less tolerable than under a magnificent despot. After the philosophic ferment of the previous generation, the long agony of the Revolution, and the exhausting struggles of the Empire, the nation was naturally weary and apathetic. This new apostle then set out, with his marvellous gifts and fiery temper to fight for the freedom of the Church and rouse the people from their indifference. At once it was felt that here was a man who would command attention whether his views were acceptable or not. It is not possible now to review in detail his apologetic writings, including the great work *Essai sur l'indifférence en matière de religion*. As scientific theology they are largely out of date but they are still interesting as specimens of a great apologetic at a particular period. The charm of the wonderful style remains, and one can find suggestion of great ideas that have since received larger application. This champion of authority has, at any rate, great faith in his own reasoning and convincing power. "I shall work out a new system of defence for Christianity against infidels and heretics, a very simple system in which the proofs will be so rigorous that unless one is prepared to give up the right of saying *I am*, it will be necessary to say *credo* to the very end."

He begins his great treatise with the following striking passage: "The century which is most hopelessly diseased is not that which is passionate in error, but rather that which neglects, which disdains truth. There is still vitality and consequently hope, where violence is seen, but, when all movement has ceased, when the pulse no longer beats, when the heart

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has become cold, can we fail to recognize the signs of approaching dissolution?" In these sarcastic tones he expresses his view of the relation of Church and State in France: "Among the pagans there was not a temple which had not its sacred revenues,, not a divinity whom its adorers had not made independent by endowing its altars; but the God of the Christians hardly admitted to a temporary salary, figures every year in an insulting budget as a pensioner of the State." His standpoint at that time is clearly expressed in this passage: "Speaking of truth," he says, "we shall not seek it in the isolated mind of man but in the reason of society. We shall examine the beliefs, the traditions of the human race, we shall note down its decisions, and if any objector presents himself, we shall point out to him two roads, one which he must follow, the dark solitary way of private judgment, which ends in nothing, and the social way of authority which leads to life or even to God, and we shall say to him as our only answer, choose!" The judgment of the clergy on the second volume of "The Essay" is that they are unanimous as to the strength and talent of the new writer but they are afraid of the new philosophy, thinking that the ordinary motives of human credibility have been weakened and the scope of authority exaggerated.

He must now abide the decision of Rome though he cannot conceive of any method of defending religion if his own principles are rejected. He was kindly received by Leo XII, in a room which is said to have had as its only ornament a crucifix, a picture of the Madonna, and his own portrait; at the same time his doctrine was received with approval by Roman theologians. "But there is a formidable offset in the words which Cardinal Bornetti whom Lamennais satirized as 'a layman wearing a scarlet cap,' has put into the mouth of Leo. 'I judged him when I saw him,' said the Pontiff, and I was filled with terror. From that time I have always had before me *sa face de damné*, his reprobate features,' the light-minded prelate added his own gibe, "M. L'Abbe is not precisely the Apollo Belvedere or the Hercules Farnese. His embarrassed manner and appearances are ill to see; one could almost throw him an alms. He gives the truth an aspect of severity and fanaticism that Rome cannot welcome. But if one has not the gift

of beauty, that is not quite a reason for turning heresiarch." (Quarterly Review, p. 463).

To us the comment of a young priest, later known in England as Cardinal Wiseman, is both more sympathetic and more interesting; he discussed with Lamennais the religious struggles in England and what needed to be done there; he tells us: "How he did so mightily prevail on others it is hard to say. He was truly in look and countenance almost contemptible, small, weakly, without pride of countenance or mystery of eye, without any external grace his tongue seemed to be the organ by which, unaided, he gave marvellous utterance to thoughts clear, deep and strong." At this time he sent forth several devotional books as well as a translation with notes of Thomas à Kempis.

Soon after this visit to Rome he is back in Paris, resisting the bitter opposition of political authorities. In 1825 he attacked the Gallican articles of 1682, which limited the prerogatives of Rome and exaggerated those of the bishops, and as these were considered as part of the law of the land he laid himself open to the charge of treason. Just before the trial came on he received an invitation to attend the opening lecture of the new course on positive philosophy by Comte, and along with the invitation words of sympathy in connection with the struggle against the government. A kindly reply was returned though the priest was not able at that time to visit the philosopher. We are told that in the following year Comte illustrated his own scheme by passing from the positive to the metaphysical and finally to the theological stage. A case of reversion to type caused by an attack of illness. He then called on Lamennais and under the seal of the confessional unburdened his heart on the subject of his "odious marriage." "After this his Catholic friend seems to have persuaded him of the necessity of recognizing the sanctity of the matrimonial tie by submitting to the rites imposed by the Christian Church, himself to have performed the ceremony." (Gibson, p. 101.

After the crisis was over the friendship seems to have been continued; there were conferences and discussions of which little is known but it is evident that Lamennais was in some degree influenced by the new social philosophy. At the end of the trial he was condemned to pay a fine of 36 francs,

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so, as was pointed out, it cannot be said that a high value was placed on the constitution.

We have now to trace briefly his career from this period when the motto God and People meant for him the supremacy of the Pope and the freedom of the Roman Church to the end when he was driven outside the fold, and came to recognize a Republican Government and the disestablishment of the Church as two necessary lines of policy for France. The intense strain and constant excitement brought on a severe illness which almost carried him into the death he would have welcomed. He was "dragged back to life" to undertake, as he believed, a God-given mission, while all around him political and ecclesiastical affairs were in a chaotic condition. The ministry of the day, under Charles X (1824-1830) had to contend with the restless spirits who demanded fuller liberty for the Church, and with the advocates of political Liberalism. Though the ministers managed in a fashion to bring Rome over to their side this had the effect of driving many discontented Catholics into the ranks of the Liberals. Thus Lamennais was led to separate the cause of Catholicism from that of monarchy and incidentally from that of the Jesuits and was driven into the stream of the revolutionary movement. On March 9th, 1830, when Charles X had lost the throne he wrote: "The Duke of Orleans is to receive the crown; it will weigh heavily on his head. The greater number would prefer a Republic frankly proclaimed, and I agree with them."

His next important step is the founding of a newspaper, "*L'Avenir*," to advocate a considerable extension of the suffrage and frequent elections, as well as liberty of speech, teaching and opinion. He was a great journalist and gathered round him many able associates. Lacordaire, one of his lieutenants, in a fierce attack upon the government, expresses his hatred of the system by which the bishops were appointed and concludes, "We make this protest, we confide it to all those Frenchmen in whom there is still a remnant of faith and shame, to our brothers in the United States, in Ireland and in Belgium, to all those who are labouring for the liberty of the world, wherever that may be, we will carry it barefooted if need be to the city of the Apostles, to the steps of the confes-

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sional of St. Peter, and we will see who will stand in the way of the pilgrim of God and of liberty." The usual prosecution followed and Lacordaire's brilliant defence and victory was a rude blow to the government. The Catholics who were fighting for the Church learned their lessons from the tactics of the Jacobins and the agitators of Ireland, and hence they established throughout the country A General Agency for Defence of Religious Liberty which fought their anti-clerical opponents fiercely and often with considerable success. Local committees were formed throughout the country and these sent to Paris reports of all conflicts between the clergy and the secular powers. But the bishops and the old nobility began to fear that there was danger in this alliance of militant Catholicism with the forces of democracy. The secret opposition from this quarter was more irritating than the public opposition. When no direct statement could be gained from Rome, Lamennais and his lieutenants determined to suspend the Journal and make a personal appeal to the Pope. "Russian, Prussian, and Austrian notes had preceded him, demanding from the Pope a formal condemnation of this audacious commentator of St. Paul, who affirmed that wherever there is the spirit of God there is liberty. Cardinal Labruschim, the same to whom he had himself opened the path to hierarchical power, was averse to him. Gregory XVI received him coldly, and only upon condition of his remaining silent upon the very subject that had brought him to Rome, a long letter which he addressed to him remained unanswered and perhaps unread." (Mazzini).

In his book, *Affaires de Rome*, Lamennais has himself given in a clear delightful style the story of his journey, his reception at Rome, and his attitude after the condemnation of his journal. When we consider the man's temperament and the irritating circumstance we are impressed by this lucid, well balanced statement. It was hinted to him that his presence in Rome was only an embarrassment to the Pope, for a long time an interview was avoided, and when it was granted, its real purpose was avoided, and the suppliant received a few commonplace remarks on the art treasures of Rome. On his way home, just at the time when he and his lieutenants, La-

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cordaire and Montalambert, were being entertained at a banquet in Munich, the encyclical *Mirari vos*, which condemned the opinions and acts of his party, reached him, and dashed all his hopes to the ground. There was no course open but submission, *L'Avenir* was finally withdrawn, and the General Agency dissolved. He acted with deliberation and dignity and his utterances are usually calm, but the following extract from a letter, written at the time, shows that below the surface there was a fiery tumult raging in his soul: "Catholicism was my life, because it is that of humanity. I wished to defend it, I wished to raise it from the depths into which it was sinking deeper every day, nothing was easier. The bishops found that it did not suit them. Rome remained. I went there and I beheld the foulest cesspool which has ever sullied the eyes of man. The vast drain of the Tarquins would be too narrow to give passage to so much uncleanness. There there is no god but interest. There they would sell the peoples, they would sell the human race, they would sell the three persons of the Holy Trinity separately or in one lot for a piece of land or for a few piastres."

He was now a man of fifty with all his hopes disappointed and all his plans in ruins. He expressed a wish to submit quietly and to go into retirement for study and prayer. It may be questioned whether such a man could keep himself quiet, and it is certain that there were many who were determined that he should have no peace. "Like gnats around the helpless form of a wounded lion, they swarmed about him, maddening him with their incessant buzzings, causing his sensitive skin to writhe in impotent irritation from the injected poison of innumerable though tiny stings; and they were urged to do this, as M. Roussel says, by a double motive—'that he was a lion and that he was wounded.'" (Gibson). Well, if that was the case, they were soon to find out that he was far from being a dead lion and was not easily killed.

Lacordaire left him with deep expressions of gratitude and respect but with the clear declaration that it would be a long time before a Republic could be established in France. Appeals were made to Rome for a more complete condemnation of him and his writings and he was called upon for a more

absolute submission. The position that he then took was that he submitted fully to the Pope as the interpreter of Apostolic tradition, but that he owed duties to his country as a citizen which the Pope could not annul or control. The submission required seemed to him to ascribe to the Pope an authority as absolute and unlimited as that of God. Under the pressure of the thought that the great need of the Church was peace he gave the required submission but told the archbishop that it in no way restricted his duties to his country. He was sick at heart and talked of going to America to die. As we have learned to know him, we feel that after an expression of that kind it was just the time to look for a new sign of life.

Even while efforts were being made to avert the final catastrophe he handed to St. Beuve the manuscript of his little book *Les Paroles d'un Croyant*, ("The Words of a Believer" has been published in English by The Fabian Society), saying, "It is time to put an end to this." The book created a sensation in the printing office, the compositors felt they were handling something that was alive. The Pope denounced it as "small in volume but immense in wickedness." "Using more recent language we may define it as belonging to the literature of anarchism; it was charged with intellectual dynamite and would explode upon the innocent as well as the guilty." "An Apocalypse we have called these chapters written as in fire and blood 'in the gloom of earthquake and eclipse.' They were a version in large and lurid fresco painting of the Evangelium Aeternum, or the Bible of the Poor, they were Wickliff in French but a French so concise, so piercing and direct, that every syllable rang like the stroke of a sword upon some crowned iniquity." (*Quarterly Review*). Chateaubriand admitted that it threw him into the shade. Roger Collard described it as "Ninety-three going to its Easter Communion." "What sublimity of thought, what perfection of style! Language contains nothing to equal the ode, the elegy, *La Mère et la Fille*." (Gibson). Some said that he was mad; others regretted that such great talent had been turned away from the defence of sound dogma. It was called "the cross surmounted by a redcap"; "the apocalypse of Satan"; "Babeuf taken into the service of the prophet Ezekiel," and many other

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things were said which whatever value they may have as criticism show the tremendous impression made by one small volume from the pen of this remarkable man.

The subject of this sketch had now reached the age of 52 (1854), and found that "in a sense he had to begin life afresh and restate his views" in the light of his new circumstances and experiences. One wonders that he stood the strain at all when we remember that he was worn down by sickness and harassed by persecution, but he was one of those men who with great capacity for suffering are not easily killed; he had still before him twenty years of toil and struggle. The Quarterly Reviewer thinks that, at this period, his kindest friends would have been justified in wishing that he might die. But men do not die for the convenience of their reputation or the comfort of their kindest friends. "Twenty years spent in fruitless struggles, in the prison of St. Pelagie, in wandering with Pierre Leroux and George Sand through the wilderness of romance and revolution, or in preaching revolt until the stones of the Boulevard rose and mutinied. What are they to such an outcast as Lamennais except the prosecuting of a fatal error which is at once burlesque and tragic?" Thus we might dismiss him as an early specimen of the Sein Feiner or Bolsheviks but he always maintained a large outlook and even from this final period there came words and visions which the world will not easily allow to die.

In 1840 he published a pamphlet in which he compared the government of France "to an Oriental despotism, a form of political organization which could in no sense be dignified with the name of society." For this form of political activity he was compelled to pay a fine of 2,000 francs and spend a year in prison. To this he made the characteristic reply, "they have bound the body but the soul laughs at them, it is free." While in prison he wrote an interesting little book, "The Past and Future of the People."* He sets his democratic belief in a large historical framework, and has great hopes for the future of humanity. Though broken in health when he came out of prison he was stimulated by the thought that he could help to

*See the volume published by the Fabian Society referred to above.

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overthrow the government of Louis Philippe and see the dawn of a better day for his beloved France. He shared in the fierce conflicts that took place between the abdication of Louis Philippe and the election of Louis Bonaparte but was bitterly disappointed at the failure to establish a democratic government on a reasonable basis. He had fought for larger liberty in the Church and failed, he now faces the same failure in the political sphere, he sees a new empire arise from which he can expect no real help for France and the world. Old and poor he can no longer engage in works of charity in which he might have found solace for the ruin of his larger schemes.

When, after these years of barren toil, the final illness came his relatives wished to summon a priest, but he had looked forward to that emergency and made his decision. He said at last, "No, no, no, leave me in peace." Soon afterwards he cried, "*Ce sont les bons moments*," and fell into his last sleep. With threescore years and ten of such a life we may say, "After life's fitful fever he sleeps well." According to his own wish he was buried "in one of those long unsightly ditches in which the poor are buried," in silence and with a simple cross to mark the place. By the new government of Louis Napoleon steps were taken to prevent any public demonstration, the streets on the way to Pere La Chaise being "guarded by police, as were the gates of the cemetery and even the space round the grave." Police precautions against disorder can do their work but they cannot reach the heart of the masses who feel that a great man has fallen and that the poor have lost a friend.

This strange career which we have sketched in mere outline, with little comment or moralizing, has been judged a brilliant failure, but looking back over the century that has elapsed since Lamennais began his work we may well admire his real insight, as well as his ability and earnestness. Like all ardent reformers he wished to grasp at once the results which can only be gained through a long slow process. As a matter of fact the movement both in Church and State has gone onward in the direction that he advocated. While the temporal power of the Pope has gone and is not likely to return, ultramontanism has been more fully developed and the

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decrees of Papal Infallibility have been accepted, and have received full dogmatic sanction. As a result we are told that the doctrine of Infallibility is not as dangerous as it was in Lamennais' day, because it has been more clearly and carefully defined. The separation of Church and State has been carried out in France. While that caused much friction and bitterness, it may be that the self-sacrifice of the priests and loyalty of Catholics during the Great War will tend to make different classes work together for the common good, though it is not likely that "clericalism" and "anti-clericalism" will completely disappear. A vast number of French citizens have no doubt accepted his view that the connection between Romanism and Monarchy is not absolute and vital. As to the State, France has now had a Republic for almost fifty years. It is said that when a Republic was mentioned Robespierre asked, "What is that?" Well, modern France knows what it is, and although it is far from perfect and has had many "crises," it has shown a certain stability, has stood the test in time of peace, in spite of political factions and social scandals, and it looks as if the passionate patriotism evoked by the present struggle for life is going to give it new strength. It will be a great thing, if, notwithstanding the present gloomy outlook, one of Lamennais' dearest dreams should be realized, viz., freedom and justice for Poland, as well as the other, that the Church instead of being an ecclesiastical machine shall become a living power for the regeneration of society and reconciliation of conflicting classes. Lamennais still preaches to his countrymen that the essence of Christianity is freedom but that freedom without reverence for duty and faith in God is helpless and hopeless. From his prison he sent forth the message to his fellow-citizens, "Your faith shall save you." So we may close with the words of another great apostle of liberty, Mazzini, "He bore his faith with him across the desert, and by that faith he was saved."

W. G. JORDAN.

BOOK REVIEWS.

(Reprinted from *The Dial*, February 22nd. 1919.)

Anthropology Up-to-date. By George Winter Mitchell. The Stratford Co.; 75 cts.

This skit runs the risk of not being so popular as it deserves. In the guise of a solid little treatise, with chapter headings like Method, Magic, the Social Unit, the Origin of Exogamy, and with foot-note references to Tylor, Fraser, Herbert Spencer, Robertson Smith, and other eminent authorities, the author expounds one current anthropological doctrine after another, to slide off by gradual reductions into the absurd, or again to break outright into burlesque. Or when the reader is unwary, he will carry him through from thin to thinner theory with straightfaced irony. Half the cantos of anthropology are tenderly undraped, all its most hollow pomposities neatly pierced and collapsed. Even he who has but little interest in the verities as opposed to the pretensions of science, cannot but see what game is on foot and smile at its deftness. Prof. Mitchell, who resides at Queen's University, Kingston, is more than an unprofessorial professor. But then he is a professor of classics, on which the attempt has recently been made to foist some of the crassest products and extensions of ethnology.

The little volume will thoroughly amuse any intelligent reader for an hour. But it carries a moral for the serious-minded. If anthropology can be so easily shown up and legitimately ridiculed, what merit can it still claim? The fact is that there are two streams in the science. One is learned but naïve, comparative but unorganized, finding evolutions and explanations at will, and piling hypothesis on hypothesis as if building high enough on a theory would convert it into fact. This is the anthropology that produces the books on the shelves of well-appointed libraries, and that filters into magazines, Sunday supplements, and parlor conversations. The Socialists have made some of it into a party plank; the colleges

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spread it before thousands of students—often when the teachers are anthropologists, nearly always when they hail from biology or from sociology.

The other current knows that knowledge is difficult and laborious and devoid of short cuts. It does not hope to solve all problems of human evolution by a series of happy guesses over night, but to work out this story piece by piece, with with every recourse of technical skill. Its pronouncements are therefore fragmentary and tentative, like all the dicta of true science. This kind of anthropology offers no intellectual panaceas and no stimulus but for the hard thinker. The public naturally has little interest in it. The result is that books like Boas' *Mind of Primitive Man* and Wissler's *The American Indian*, to mention only two recent American examples, have not a tenth the general reputation or influence of the seductively vague and pedantically unsound works of the authors referred to above.

It is by driving a wedge between these two sorts of anthropology, and exposing the sham kind that Mitchell's wit is justified—and useful.

Value of the Classics. Princeton University Press, Princeton.

If authority has any weight in deciding an educational question, the position of Classics is secure, for in this volume nearly three hundred competent observers testify that the study of Classics is of essential value in the best type of liberal education. The list of three hundred, which we are assured could be multiplied many times, is headed by four Presidents of the United States. That the testimony might be as unbiased as possible, the compilers of the list have excluded classical scholars, except those who speak as Presidents or Heads of Institutions. Included in it are the names of the most prominent men in the public life and academic circles of the United States of America. From Britain there are such names as Viscount Bryce, A. Geike, Walter Leaf, W. Osler, and from France, M. Sarraut, Minister of Public Instruction, the leading French Ironmasters, Berthelot, the illustrious chemist, and Henri Poincare, the mathematical genius. An examination of

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all the names, whether American or European, warrants the conclusion that all men who occupy the front rank in any walk of life or in any branch of learning believe, as a result of their mature experience, that there is no higher duty resting upon the leaders of education than to maintain classical studies and constantly to improve them. The testimony as a whole shows that the brains of Britain, France and America are behind the demand for the continued study of the classics.

With such backing as this the classical teacher need not despair and he may console himself with the knowledge that the opposition to the classics comes from second rate men only, whether they be physicists or chemists, economists or historians, lawyers or doctors. The prattle of the anti-classicist about dead languages is merely pitiful. Latin and Greek are dead only in the sense that they are no longer spoken. In that sense the language of Shakespeare is dead too, and to a geologist like Geike who would look upon Shakespeare as a contemporary of Sophocles the anti-classicist's ignorance of perspective must seem appalling. Where the anti-classicist gets his enmity to Classics would be hard to say. It does not at any rate arise from that familiarity which breeds contempt.

The main opposition to the Classics comes from the Germans, whose Kaiser in one of his speeches, said: "We must take German as the foundation of the gymnasium, we must educate national young Germans and not young Greeks and Romans. We must depart from the basis which has stood for centuries, the old monastic education of the Middle Ages, in which Latin was the standard, we must make German the basis."

The leaders in education should realize that we are at a crisis in educational policy. Because of the immediate need for reconstruction in the material world we are in the gravest danger of putting too much emphasis on practical subjects and of neglecting the humanities.

The disaster which has fallen upon the Germans is mainly due to the materialistic education advocated by their Kaiser and should be a sufficient warning to those who are now bent on following in his footsteps.

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Summary of the Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1916.

1. Next after English, History and Algebra, which are required at some period of practically all pupils in high schools and academies, Latin now has the largest enrolment of any subject.

2. Latin is the one language except English which is the most generally studied in our schools and academies.

3. Latin is taken by a larger number of pupils than French, German and Spanish combined.

4. Latin is taken by only twelve and a half per cent. more fewer students than physical geography, physiology, botany, general biology, zoology, and geology combined, and by twelve and a half per cent. more than domestic economy, manual training, agriculture and bookkeeping combined.

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“THE war has torn economic theories into shreds,” a gentleman with a peculiar aptitude for loose statements has remarked. Those who think like him are not a few. On the one hand the perfervid Marxian, and on the other hand the self-styled “practical man” applaud the downfall of “capitalistic economics” or “academic theorizing”, as they may respectively term it. Evidence that the same opinion is shared in high places is abundant. Mr. Hoover’s very brusque dismissal of the whole body of American economists, with the subsequent attempt to solve a social problem with the aid of every other type of science except social science, is notorious. The economist may retain his superior attitude and the comforting conviction that the problems of the Food Administration and of the Food Board were not solved, but as Professor Weld told the American Economic Association in December, 1917, “It is a serious reflection on the economist to be passed over when the government is undertaking such an important and radical policy as the regulation of prices.” The case in Canada was even more noticeable, with our various War Boards threshing straw in trying to readjust policies to the exigencies of war. With few exceptions they asked and received but little aid from Canadian economists. Too often the advice offered was in the nature of a sermon on the danger of tampering with economic law, when what was desired and needed was “practical advice”; practical, not in the sense of disregarding theory, but in the sense of linking theories with actual complex situations, rather than with carefully selected groups of facts. The latter is a pedagogical device for making a clear impression on the mind of the elementary student and once the principle is grasped that device should not be allowed to dominate the science. Economics has made no such highly abstract suppositions as have the natural sciences. We have nothing so far removed from concreteness as the “electron theory.” Our economic theories are just as logical, just as scientific, as those of any other science, but the body of facts from which our

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hypotheses are constructed are not so representative or so carefully tested. Because of the human element with which he deals, the economist can never be as sure of his facts as can the physicist, but he can be much more accurate than he ordinarily is at present.

The reason economists have found it difficult to cope with our war-time economic problems, and the reason the government found it difficult to deal with the situation, was that nobody really knew what the situation was. Men who knew the principles were available; men who knew a few of the facts were to be found; a thorough knowledge of a comprehensive sort was quite lacking. The inevitable result was that conclusions were drawn from too meagre a group of facts and the proportion of error was enormous.

Curiously enough, the man who did most to fix English political economy in its "classical" form was a banker who knew better than most of his day or this the working of the market in time of war. David Ricardo knew it so well that he was able to become independently wealthy during the Napoleonic Wars. When Ricardo took up the study of Economics, he was not interested in laying down the principles that govern the rapid fluctuations of the market. Those were his daily care in business. He rather cared to use his mathematical mind in discovering the principles which govern results over long periods. The market to him was common, obvious and a business; economics was speculative, socially interesting and a hobby. He dealt very definitely in *social science* and only in the "long-period", "normal" aspects of that science. He wrote in the preface to the first edition of his *Principles*: "If the principles which he (the writer) deems correct should be found to be so, it will be for others, more able than himself, to trace them to all their important consequences." (*Everyman's* edition, p. 2.)

Given Ricardo's assumptions of effective competition, sufficient time for competition to work, and the simple psychology of hedonism, there is little fault to be found with his logic. Labour, direct and indirect, would be the measurement of value; the Ricardian theory of rent does hold for the "original and indestructible powers of the soil." The real quarrel with

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Ricardo has never been with his principles, but with his facts. We doubt that competition is effective. We fear that long-time results are non-existent in our dynamic age. We dispute as to what powers of the soil are "original and indestructible."

Ricardo's successors have for the most part accepted his eighteenth century facts and endeavoured to tinker his principles. They have not effected very much except where they have discovered the facts of twentieth century industry, and applied to them the same rigid Ricardian logic.

Thorstein Veblen has gone further afield than most other economists in basing his conclusions on complex present-day situations rather than upon simple eighteenth century unrealities. Veblen concerns himself almost exclusively with market, not normal price. For him abnormality is normal! Industry is at present essentially dynamic; it is in motion. Without friction we could, in mechanics, have perpetual motion. Without friction we could have analogous results in industry and commerce. Some of our principles derived from frictionless or static economy are as useful to the administrator as that of perpetual motion is to the mechanic. Veblen with more insistence than any other has laid emphasis on friction. Veblen's theory of business profits is that they represent the failure of competition to work; they represent frictional gains. They represent not competition, but control. The conjunctions out of which profits arise are not accidental but more and more in the modern industrial order are controlled.*

The issue between Veblen and his critics has been much more clearly grasped than that between Ricardo and his. It is clearly not the principle of competition that is in dispute, it is the fact of competition. The merest tyro in Economics can formulate the *theory* of competitive profits, but no one has settled the *fact* of competitive profits. An academic compromise with a page of foot-note reservations is the best that has yet been accomplished. A compromise, says Emerson, is a compromise, not a roof. The makeshift has effected little. They are few who have not a working approximation of the principle of competitive profits, but they are legion who have

*Veblen, *Theory of Business Enterprise*, passim.

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little accurate knowledge of facts to make their principles worth while.

Nowhere has the whole matter of the application of "plain and simple doctrine" to highly varied and complicated situations, been so exemplified as in the vexed question of governmental policy in regard to rising prices.

Current doctrine tells us that a price is a pecuniary statement of value; that value is the rate of exchange between goods. It is that rate of exchange which will equate the amount of a good offered on the market and the amount effectively demanded. High prices "are S.O.S. calls to producers all over the world to increase production. . . Again, high prices are the most vivid way of bringing home to the consumer the fact that a shortage exists. . . . In these two ways high prices bring about their own cure."[†] It is usually further accepted that price *normally tends to approximate* to the expenses of production of the least efficient producer, whose product is required to satisfy the demand. In all except the extractive industries, the expenses of production tend to be equalized, i.e. all firms in the same industry tend to have the same expenses and the same profits. These principles are currently accepted and moreover they are as near to fact as such simple doctrines could be. As guides to governmental policy they are as useless as a yardstick in measuring the cross-section of a hair.

Many examples have been brought forward to show that the above tendency to an approximation of price and cost is retarded or even completely blocked by other forces of custom, ignorance, or actual directed control of the supply. "Except in war-time, it costs, according to season, 2½ cents to 3¼ cents to produce a can of sardines, but the customary retail price remains at 5 cents a can year in and year out. Except in time of war, bread is 5 cents a loaf, irrespective of the price of wheat and beer 5 cents a glass irrespective of the price of barley. Thus a large class of commodities, bought for daily use by people in general, may fluctuate in cost of production even as much as 50% without effect upon the retail price.

[†]W. C. Clark, *Should Maximum Prices Be Fixed? Queen's Quarterly*, April, 1918.

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Another large and important class of articles change in retail price by jumps of 25 cents, 50 cents, \$1.00 and \$5.00. Thus an increase of 10 cents or even 4 cents in the cost of an article at the mill, has been followed by an increase of 50 cents to the consumer, and an increase of 37 cents at the mill has been followed by an increase of \$1.00 to the consumer. It is true that in some instances a small per cent. of decline in the cost of production is followed by a reduction of 25 cents or 50 cents or some other "round" sum in the price to the consumer. But this also indicates that the price charged before the reduction was excessive, and both classes of facts justify Professor Emory's statement, based on information gathered when a member of the United States Tariff Board, that 'the relation of the price which the producer receives for the commodity to the price which the consumer pays for it, seems to follow no rule of logic.'* On October 8th, the price of a pound loaf of bread in this country varied from 6 to 15 cents, the high price being in the great food market of the Middle West and the low price being in the manufacturing district of the East. Perhaps no other equally expensive article is so often purchased for American homes as a piano. I am credibly informed that a \$300 piano costs \$65 at the factory."† Mr. John A. Hobson has estimated that the consumer suffers more from the excessive prices charged for common articles of food and clothing by wholesalers and retailers than from the much talked-of power of the "trust" and the monopoly.

The Federal Trade Commission of the United States in its investigation into "profiteering," found that the simple rubric of cost of production plus average profit, when applied by the government, resulted in enormous profits, by reason of inflated costs and of the greatly superior efficiency of certain firms. In spite of the tendency of costs of production to be equalized the equalization process is tardy enough to be productive of enormous profits, profits which are not necessarily more a lure to firms to discover new methods and economies,

**American Economic Review*, V, 536.

†E. C. Hayes, *Proceedings of the American Economic Association*, December 1917, pp. 202-3.

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than both the result of, and the incentive to, a concerted endeavour to keep other firms back.

It is commonly recognized that cost theories in relation to railway rates are of little practical importance. The rate is set at "what the traffic will bear." Railway transportation is par excellence an industry of joint costs, i.e. costs cannot be allocated to any particular service, because they are constant and continue as long as the railway is a going concern, regardless of the fluctuations in traffic. Goods may be carried at any rate between the limits of the added cost of transportation, (i.e., the cost that is added because a certain shipment is taken, usually little more than the handling charges), on the one hand, and the value of the service on the other. All this we have recognized; but what has not been accepted, is that the element of joint cost is present in every plant where more than a single product is produced and that to that extent the price of such commodities is "what the traffic will bear." The prices of a large proportion of our staple manufactured goods are not "cost of production plus" prices, they are set on similar principles to railway rates. The point is not that the prices are excessive. They may or may not be such. It is that we are using price theories that cover only a very few cases.

A case in point. An investigation by the Cost of Living Branch of the Department of Labour last summer showed that soda crackers in Canada were ordinarily sold at approximately their prime cost, i.e., the cost of materials and operators' labour. Ordinarily they were not expected to bear more than an insignificant share of the overhead (or joint costs). The fancy products of the industry were made to carry practically the whole burden of the factory and selling overheads. Such an arrangement is quite legitimate, but it is rather explained by the theory of railway rates than by the ordinary theories of value. This illustration throws an illuminating light on the otherwise puzzling situation in which innumerable firms were able to show that, allocating overhead costs according to the value of the product, or labour cost, or any other principle of allocation, they were losing money by selling their staple products at the market prices. The most common and indeed almost invariable rejoinder to governmental enquiry in regard

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to prices of any particular commodity, was proof absolute and overwhelming that the cost was greater than the price. The great bulk of our staple manufactured products are produced under conditions of joint cost, yet we have not made adequate use of the principle of joint cost in relation to general prices as has been done in regard to the particular prices of railway services. Commissions and officials innumerable have insisted on the reasonable relationship between war prices and costs when the real truth, if not accurately expressed in Professor Emory's statement, that "the relation seems to follow no rule of logic," was at least that it did not follow "the rule of logic" usually applied to it.

The thesis here presented is not that the competitive system is not justified by its results. (That question is quite outside the present article). The argument rather is that at present numerous facts indicate that there are large and noteworthy gaps in our ordinary assumption of competition and that even where that system is effective as a means of control, it does not necessarily or even usually work according to the accustomed formulae. Further, we have not enough data at our disposal to know just how it does work. We know that competition exists and that friction exists. We know that there is an element of joint cost in most industries and that the effect of competition is decidedly "abnormal" in such cases. What we do not know is the extent to which these factors are involved. Once more we know the principles but the facts are lacking. Moreover, the principles without the facts are like mathematics without measurements to apply them to, very pure but very useless.

In this situation lies the essential *casus belli* of the whole popular controversy of the war period as to prices and profits. The widespread popular demand for the fixing of prices and the general advice of economists against it, were opposed on this very basis of fact.

The war, like every other war in history, brought with it a sudden rise in prices, a rise that was in part general and due to inflation, and in part, particular and due to the scarcity of necessary articles. Such a rise in prices with the consequent diminution of real wages, owing to the tardiness with which

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money wages rose, brought a shifting of standards, causing much readjustment and discomfort. "One of the most difficult things for a people to do is to revise their standard of living—downward. A nation will without a murmur give its sons to be crippled or killed, but doubling of the price of bread, reduction of the sugar purchases and all the relatively small inconveniences which a rapidly rising price level brings home to every household, will be vigorously resisted with threats of strikes in vital industries and bitter cursings of speculator and profiteer."* In part this is the old and ever-present difficulty of accepting an intimate, direct, and easily perceived loss, for the sake of a distant, indirect, and somewhat obscured gain. That is the most fundamental and constant psychological fact in all social control. The case in point however is an instance of more than that. It was not only the indirectness of the gain, it was the doubt of its existence. The response which the Canadian people gave to appeal after appeal for funds, is conclusive proof that they were willing to meet the cost of the war in money as well as in men. They were not sure that increased prices were a part of the war. There was the rub! It was the conviction of a large part of our population that most of the increased price represented increased profit in some one's purse. It was not the cost of the war but the inequitable distribution of the burden that caused disturbances. Most of the meagre facts which were brought before the public tended to corroborate rather than disprove that view. The one notable case which came up for public review ended in the publication of a few facts, which left the head of the firm concerned convinced of his righteousness, the public convinced of his guilt and the government in a quandary. The net conclusion to be drawn is that "business profits," "competitive profits," "fair returns," etc., are mere terms and the facts are quite unknown.

In regard to governmental policy, sound and legitimate reasons were given against any widespread price fixing scheme. Fixed prices are difficult to enforce. Except in highly organized markets they are impossible.† Price-fixing is a useless

*W. C. Clark, loc. cit.

†Vide Clark, loc. cit.

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weapon to attack inflation. "Prices are but symptoms; to attempt to attack the prices themselves is like attempting to cure influenza by stopping the sneeze. Neither the price nor the sneeze is the disease."* It is no cure to stop the sneeze, but it may well be a polite and wise measure. Price-fixing at best however is only an emergency measure, for the fixing of prices means the abolition of the price system, which is the mechanism for industrial and commercial control. From this fundamental cause arises the fact that fixed prices usually, if prices were rising, limited production and stimulated consumption. As Professor G. F. Warren has shown, the exports of wheat and wheat flour from the United States diminished in 1918 37% from the level of 1917. The chief reason for this he finds to have been the dumping of the entire crop on the market in the fall and the subsequent reckless consumption. That does not apply to the Canadian situation, however, for our crop was always dumped on the market in the autumn for lack of credit on the part of our farmers. (The overcoming of that annual low price period in the fall, is the justification, and the only justification for the fixing of the price of wheat in Canada. It will be permanently effected, however, not by price-fixing but by better credit organization.) In many lines the checking of production was evident though difficult to estimate in extent.

All these reasons are sound and legitimate. They do not however touch the centre of the cost of living problem. They merely discredit one proposed remedy. They do not, for instance, meet statements like the following: "If one were asked to say concisely what has made possible the present food situation in regard to prices, he could express the truth in these four words: Lack of organized resistance."† It is obvious that the writer does not understand the whole situation. The context shows that he has a very common but very erroneous idea as to what is meant by supply and demand. He neglects altogether the important factor of inflation. In fact

*G. F. Warren, "Purposes and Results of Price-fixing," *Proceedings of American Economic Association*, December 1918.

†J. L. Payne, *Scribner's Magazine*, November 1918.

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he has neglected most of the fundamental principles. One thing he knows. The great majority of our people also understood it. A period of rising prices does benefit the business man more largely than any other class. Profits rise much more quickly than wages. It is also understood that prices are not completely beyond the control of the business man. Only in so far as they are competitive, are they beyond his control. While the economist is at pains to show a complete monopoly is next to impossible, "the man on the street" is "sound in the fundamentals" in holding that a fractional and transient control may bring very large and enviable profits. Veblen recognizes the same in arguing that the business man of the present controls his conjunctures. The reason prices doubled during the war was inflation. The reason bread was a cent a pound more in one town than in another (and that was where the shoe pinched) might very well be the existence of temporary price-fixing operations other than those of the government. A tacit agreement among the bakers, perhaps a meeting of the local retailers' association would not result in greatly influencing the Department of Labour's index number but it did pinch the consumer and increase the profits or secret reserves. There is not a town in Canada where selling agreements, formal, informal or merely customary and courteous, do not within narrow limits affect prices. In spite of an order-in-council modelled on 12th century edicts prohibiting such agreements, they exist from the smallest barbers' local to the Canadian Manufacturers' Association itself. Such agreements are not necessarily harmful. From many points of view they are useful. They are not competition however and while they exist we cannot assume perfect competition.

These were the facts from which the consumer drew his conclusions, and which were the "fons et origo" of his protest. Those facts, on the other hand, are the facts that economic theory too often disregards. To put the point in terms of that theory, the economist is troubled to show that price is set between the limits set by marginal utility, i.e. what gratification would be lost by having a unit less, and cost of production. Any price between those points would "clear the market." What bothered the consumer was the setting of the point of

price within those limits set by the "marginal pairs." That price, he knew as well as any economist, was not set by cost of production but by bargaining power. During a period of rapidly rising prices those limits are not narrow; they afford considerable scope, scope enough to permit of making a fair-sized fortune in some cases. Within those limits it was the "lack of organized resistance" which permitted the rise in price. In regard to how that bargaining process is carried on, what its results are, and how the weaker bargainer can protect himself, economists have had very little to say. The consumer, like the workman in the early days of the union, because of his lack of knowledge, is the weaker bargainer. Note that, like the workman, his bargaining position is weak not necessarily because his position is uneconomical from the social point of view, but because superior knowledge gives his bargaining opponent an advantage. Just as the economist of a century ago told the trade unionist that his union was powerless to effect anything but error under all-powerful economic law, so the economist of our day was rather too apt to make obvious remarks about old and very true principles and neglect the less obvious but none the less important facts of our very complex price system. Neither facts nor principles warranted maximum prices any more than the facts and principles of a century ago warranted the Elizabethan Statute of Apprentices, but that is no reason for the economist neglecting to endeavour to discover some remedy for a situation which obviously made for discontent. Perhaps there was no remedy, but we might at least have a diagnosis.

In summary it might be said then that the two basic reasons for the discontent during the war in Canada (and in other countries where actual suffering was exceptional) were (i) the knowledge on the part of the consumer that through failure of competition to work, prices were not beyond the control of the dealer, and (ii) rising prices brought an unequal distribution of the burden of war. With these facts few economic writers dealt in a thorough and scientific way. It was left to the clergy and the press to deal with them in a very unscientific way.

The argument of this article is not for any particular

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remedy to be applied *ex post facto*. It is not an argument in favor of any scheme of maintaining prices. The sooner prices sink back to a stable level again the better it will be.* The argument rather is that we are in no position to offer particular remedies or advice because knowledge of what the situation is is lacking.

In regard to prices, few people understand how exceedingly complex a thing a price is. It is the result of a thousand and one variables which are glibly lumped together as demand and supply. Because of this complexity, in no field do we need so badly the very best statistical method, in order to reduce the complexity to some degree of simplicity. In no field, however, are mathematical formulæ so utterly and dangerously useless, if the materials to which they are applied are not selected with the greatest skill and care. The problem of collecting information in regard to prices, then, is of more than ordinary difficulty but it is of more than ordinary urgency. Nowhere is that urgency greater. The price is the crux of the whole industrial and commercial relationship. It is a "symptom." In these days when so much attention is being given to social and industrial pathology, symptoms repay investigation.

Most of this investigation, if it is to be wide in scope, must be undertaken by the government. The pressure and the advice, however, must come from those who are by profession most interested. What type of investigation is needed? Certainly not the transient commission which must produce results overnight and rarely has the time or the organization to get at the heart of the problem.

In the first place, we need to make better use of the existing machinery. Much is being done to better our census statistics. It is not too soon for those interested (and social scientists should be) to put forward constructive suggestions for the next decennial census. While the Bureau of Statistics can quite well carry out the plans, an advisory commission to advise the Bureau as to the information which is desirable, would be a most useful body. The Bureau of Statistics has

*Vide B. Anderson, "Price Readjustment," National Bank of Commerce, New York.

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worked hard to make the census something more important than a mere counting of heads but there is little intelligent demand for anything more. We may expect better Unemployment figures from the Department of Labour in the future. More adequate statistics of wages will probably follow. It remains for Canadian writers and teachers to point out the meaning, and criticize the compilation and method of such statistics. Another instance: the excess profits tax must have been productive of a mass of useful information. There has as yet been no effective demand for its publication. That could easily be accomplished without injuring any of the firms concerned. It would be more useful as a guide to policy than ten treatises on the subject of profits taxes. Further, at very great expense Canada undertook last year a man-power census. Presumably the results will be published but as far as we know no use has been made of the information nor has it yet been made available.

In addition to making more adequate use of our existing machinery we need separate, permanent commissions to do in the industrial field what the Commission of Conservation has done in a more limited field. An industrial commission which would collect information in regard to Canadian industry, its organization, extent and progress would make it possible to discuss Canadian problems with some assurance. At present our Canadian industry is not so complex but what its general organization and the essential facts in regard to it can be ascertained. Soon however we will find that an industrial survey becomes almost impossible because of increasing complexity. Such a commission might or might not undertake regulative functions. Its primary function would be the acquisition of facts. The most noticeable feature of the whole war period in regard to government was the extent to which government agencies were at the mercies of various individuals and interests for information. In many cases such information and aid was loyally and freely given. In other cases advice was largely coloured by business interest. In peace or war the much-talked-of sinister influence of the "Big Interests" exists because there is a lamentable lack of knowledge on the part of the government and the public as to what the "Big Interests"

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are, and how they operate. Nothing could do so much to eliminate this is a well informed Industrial Commission.

To turn to one special field. Canadians are approaching a revision of the tariff with the most meagre knowledge of what is involved. It is generally acknowledged that the tariff is a matter for experts, but in Canada we have neither experts nor information. Only the "interests", whether agricultural or manufacturing, know what they want. Beyond a few principles and a political creed neither government nor governed are in a position to meet the situation. The extent or the effectiveness of protection is unknown. A Tariff Commission, not of Cabinet ministers, but of scientists, would do more to effect a rapprochement between East and West than Sir John Willison bearing gifts.

In the particular field of prices there remains much to be done. At present we have some collection of wholesale and retail prices. To these must be added producers' commodity prices. When accurate information of this sort is available we may expect intelligent discussion of the problem of the middleman. The near future will bring insistent demands for national and municipal operation of various quasi-public enterprises, such as cold storage plants, marketing agencies and so forth. Only the most accurate knowledge of what the cost of the middleman really is can form the basis for reasonable decision. Security prices and house rents should also be made available in more usable and accurate form than at present. This work is already being undertaken by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics but it needs supplementing and expansion.

To return to the original point of departure, we have been quite at sea in dealing with our war-problems because for the most part we were without information. We supposed the situation to be normal when abnormality was the rule. The dynamic of war made the exception more important than the rule, and economists take little note of the exceptional. A great deal of vital time has been lost in dealing with our "reconstruction" problems, but it is not yet too late to tackle them scientifically. The pressing problems are problems where the necessary and lacking element is knowledge of fact. Unemployment, industrial organization, the tariff, the possible

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period of depression: for the solution of these problems it is the basis of fact that is required. Until by government or private initiative these facts are acquired, economists are but stirring the dust which obscures them.

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The British Election and After.

In the last number of the *Quarterly* there was a brief statement of the result of the recent British election and its significance as a sweeping condemnation of Pacificism and a striking vindication of the personal position and policy of the Prime Minister. A few words on that subject may not be out of place. One writer compares it to Gladstone's great triumph after "a bold and far-reaching Franchise Act," when Walter Bagshot explained the result in these words: "The candidates only said they would vote with Mr. Gladstone and the constituencies only chose those who said so. Even the minority could only be described as anti-Gladstone, just as the majority could only be described as pro-Gladstone." Then the majority was 12, now it is given as 234. The coalition consists of 334 Unionists, 133 Liberals, Labour 10, while outside the Government-party the list runs: Unionist 46, Liberal 32, Labour and Socialist 64, Sinn Fein 73, Nationalist 7, and a few independents of various names. The position of the Irish Nationalists and Sinn Feiners is reversed, as before the dissolution it was 78 and 6. "Liberals" are reduced from 260 to 165 and "Unionists" go up from 282 to 330, but we are not quite sure what these labels mean just now. Only 32 Liberals not pledged to Lloyd George were returned and one diligent enquirer professes to discover that of 32, 22 are friendly to the Coalition, 5 uncertain, and 5 "undoubtedly adherents of Mr. Asquith."

In the same journal, *The Daily Chronicle*, Dec. 30th, we are told that "It is not only Mr. Asquith and his leading colleagues who have been defeated at the polls—their whole Parliamentary organization and machinery have gone with them. All the whips have been beaten, Mr. Gulland, Mr. Geoffrey Howard, Mr. Rea, Sir Arthur Marshall. There has never before been so clean a sweep of the entire framework of the opposition." A similar fate has overtaken the Nationalist party in Ireland.

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Such an election has a certain element of ruthlessness about it which is inevitable, in similar cases we may say "it never rains but it pours down." The common feeling was that there was no alternative, the Government must be sustained so as to present a strong front at the Peace Conference and to seek the just punishment of the Kaiser and the German people. Women were not acceptable but Miss Pankhurst made a pretty good run at Smethwick, polling 8,614 as an Independent against her opponent's (Labour) 9,389; her chances should have been good with the approbation of the Coalition party. Socialists of the type of Snowden and Ramsay MacDonald, who have worshipped a false internationalism at the expense of their own country, were swept away. But not only was that so, Liberals who had served their country loyally through long years, if they showed any hesitation in joining the full worship of Mr. Lloyd George, were in most cases left outside the new Parliament. The parallels, though on a different scale, are the rejection of Cobden, Bright and others on the Crimean issue, and the Conservative triumph at the close of the Boer war. One writer who sees things from the inside says: "It cannot be said that those who were generally known as the Pacifist group will be mourned over, for most of them were not content with advancing unpopular views, but did so in a needlessly offensive manner." To those of us to whom Ponsonby is only a name, it is interesting to learn that "There is one exception, however, to this general statement, for it was impossible to dislike Mr. Ponsonby, hopeless as were his views." But as to that numerous host "the absent ones"—"There can be no doubt at all as to whose face will be most generally missed when the new House meets—it will certainly be that of Mr. Asquith. And in spite of all the differences of opinion that are inevitable in political warfare, I imagine that his absence will be regretted sincerely by all, for I doubt if, even among those who have thought of late that it was well for him to be out of power there is one who wished him to be out of the House."

"To say that he was a great Parliamentary personality is an inadequate commonplace—he was a conspicuous figure in the great succession of those who have sustained the dignity,

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carried on the traditions, and enriched the store of classic eloquence of Parliament, and when men look for him in vain on either of the front benches—on one or other of which he has had a place so long—they will also be conscious of the absence of quite a group of his chief supporters—Runciman, McKenna, Herbert Samuel, Simon, McKinnon Wood and others.” With the richness of English political life it may be that all this wealth of talent can be spared and that compensation is to be sought in the magical power of Lloyd George “to get things done.” There are some, however, who will regret that by the strange circumstances of the time the historic Liberal party is reduced to this broken or slavish condition. Of course, party ties and party names do not count in a time like this. That may be true but the fact is that the so-called “Unionist” party has come through the confusion practically intact, and journals favourable to Mr. Lloyd George regret that so many men who could combine fair criticism with patriotism and loyalty of the highest order will have no voice in the new Parliament.

The *Daily Chronicle* under its able editor, Mr. Donald, has long held a high place as an independent exponent of Liberalism; now that it has changed hands we do not know exactly what it represents, but in an article, “A Landslide Election”, it states the situation fairly but its hopefulness shows a sense of the possible difficulties.

“The fact that the Coalition majority includes a Unionist majority—that the Unionists have indeed a majority in the whole House—need not therefore perturb us. The Prime Minister has chosen definitely for the present the path of securing Unionist co-operation. His Unionist colleagues are pledged to act with, not against, him. We see no reason to expect from them any but a loyal performance of their pledges. They have acted loyally by him, since they accepted his leadership; and were they disposed to act otherwise their majority in the House of Lords would be quite enough for the purpose, independently of what they might have in the House of Commons. But we decline to anticipate such conflicts. The immediate future of the country will be far too serious to permit of them.”

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A representative Canadian, Sir John Willison, tells us that "the thing we called Toryism has disappeared in Great Britain as it disappeared in Canada long ago." Perhaps as he writes these words he smiles at the remembrance of those in Toronto who regard him as a fine specimen of real Toryism. He is, however, convinced that "Each and all recognize that the war has had revolutionary effects and that the old causes of division have little relation to the new conditions and the new problems of the Kingdom." "We may still use the old names but they will only confuse or amuse. Sir Wilfrid Laurier still stands for the old divisions as did Mr. Asquith in Great Britain. When we think of the void that would be created in the Canadian Parliament if Sir Wilfrid should disappear* we better realize the significance of Mr. Asquith's defeat." In passing we may express our opinion that the *Montreal Star* is doing a good thing in printing a certain number of signed editorials and from one of them we gladly place on record Sir John Willison's noble tribute to a distinguished statesman who has suffered defeat after 32 years of valuable Parliamentary service.

"In power and clarity of statement, and in genius for controlling and reconciling divergent elements Asquith stands foremost among the Parliamentary leaders of Britain. In the hour of his defeat we can afford to remember how firmly and finely he stated the reasons for the Empire's intervention in the war, how resolutely he schooled himself to patience and discipline under attack, how steadily and unflinchingly he maintained the cause of his country when the sceptre of leadership was put into other hands and when evil tongues were busy even with the intimate affairs of his household and his heart was heavy with sorrow for a gifted son who gave his life for the great old land they both loved and served."

In the meantime Mr. Asquith maintains a dignified silence, Sir John Simon says, "I am too old a hand to feel the result of any election. Somebody wins and somebody loses, and the loser means to win another day"; Mr. Snowden in spite of his

*Since these words were written Sir Wilfrid Laurier has "disappeared" from the political life of Canada, and the many sincere and noble tributes to the greatness of his career lend a real significance to Sir John Willison's comparison.

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own defeat rejoices in what he regards as the wonderful success of the Independent Labour party; while Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who has been a puzzle and an irritation to loyal citizens, at a time when he felt decisive defeat though it had not been definitely declared, bids farewell in this graceful fashion:

"The combination of hate, credulity, and reaction which we expected was veritably effected, and the desirable villas of the west united with the undesirable tenements of the centre to defeat Labour." "The abandonment of principle was wholehearted, and everything was forgotten in the one object of bringing about my defeat. . . I must go away, and it will be some time before I can meet you face to face again." Oh Labour, what nonsense is uttered in thy name!

The *Times*, which regards itself as an impartial record of contemporary history, gives the following summary of the result in which it can claim to have played an important part:

"The issues, a little blurred at the start, became at the end perfectly clear. They have been largely defined by public opinion, and can be marshalled under three main heads: (1) A War Issue—The character of the peace settlement. The outstanding feature of the campaign has been the almost universal determination to ensure that Germany shall pay the cost of the war, that the Kaiser shall be brought to trial, and that no opportunity shall be afforded for any future peaceful penetration of this country. (2) A Peace Issue—The nature of the national policy of reconstruction. Almost as keen as the demand for a strong policy abroad has been the call for radical reform at home, more particularly on the subjects of land, housing, health and conditions of labor. (3) A Political Issue—To what type of government are these high tasks to be entrusted? By the elimination of the Liberal faction which still acknowledges Mr. Asquith's leadership, the issue has been narrowed down, as the Prime Minister suggested in a speech, to one between the Coalition and Labor. Almost as important as the type of the next government has been, in the minds of the electors, its personnel. Public opinion has steadily insisted that party claims should give way to public achievement, and that the new government should have no elements of weakness bequeathed to it by the old."

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Afterwards.

We must hope that the words quoted above from the *Daily Chronicle* will be justified at least in the immediate future when the first work is the cleaning up of a difficult international situation. When we see the strange condition into which the world has been thrown by the war it is certainly desirable that in the great leading nations, party feeling and domestic differences should be held in check until some of the most pressing problems have been settled. It looks as if the making of peace was going to be even more difficult than the making of war. To some extent victory has come and the strain is lessened, but equal wisdom and courage are needed to secure that peace shall be set on a lasting basis and each nation set free to face its own problems of reconstruction. There are signs of unrest everywhere, and these will continue until the great numbers of men detained in France and Germany can return to their respective homes and help to restore the world's normal life. We do not hope for stagnation; there are plenty pressing questions to provoke healthy friction but we may well pray that the chaotic condition in which a great part of Europe is now found may through wise strong leadership soon pass away.

Ireland.

Ireland is one of the problems that remain and that in some way the British Government will have to face. It is a long story of blunders and of suffering. We cannot think, however, that the meeting in Montreal which was held not merely to express sympathy with Ireland, but to glorify the Sinn Fein movement, represents any widespread feeling in Canada. The fact that the leaders of this new party gave all the help they could to Germany in the hour when our trial was heaviest and that it caused useless bloodshed and destruction in Dublin has alienated the sympathy of many who favored Home Rule and who would have hailed with delight an agreement between Ulster and the rest of Ireland. Representatives of the whole country were invited to meet together and agree upon a scheme by which within the framework of the British Empire they could co-operate for the common good of their

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country. The failure of this enterprise was another bitter disappointment. Years ago when Gladstone made his great proposal, with a little less party prejudice and religious bigotry the problem might have been solved. But it is no use recapitulating the efforts of the last fifty years and investigating the causes of their failure. An American writer visiting the country and meeting sympathetically representatives of all parties gives as his impression that everything is abnormal in Ireland, the hard practical temper of Ulster, the romantic unpractical sentimentalism of the South, the peculiar situation of the official class, everything abnormal. He sees no way out and finds consolation in the thought that it is good that some countries should be interesting at the expense of being irritating. That is all very well, and there is a lot of truth in it, but with the Nationalist party wrecked, the new party about to proclaim a Republic, and Ulster naturally driven into a more irreconcilable attitude, the problem is once more acute. Everybody is sick of it; squaring the circle seems to be easy compared with this. It is clear notwithstanding the Montreal orators that an independent Republic is out of the question. Appeals to President Wilson and the Peace Conference are not likely to have much success. Germany will have sufficient to do to look after herself. But it is a real problem for the British Government and there is no prospect of a quick solution. "Physical force" as the solution of a situation so highly complicated is surely not favoured by recent examples in Europe, and though the prospect is dark we may hope that there will be sufficient sanity among all classes and creeds to prepare for a new era of peace and co-operation, even in Ireland.

W. G. J.

The Conference.

'Let a Frenchman talk twice with a minister of state, he desires no more to furnish out a volume,' wrote Swift. This must seem an extravagant condition to the correspondents now at Paris, who provide daily dishes out of scantier material. It is not necessary to imitate them: three months hence the com-

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pleted treaties will be before the world, and we may then substitute conjectures about their consequences for conjectures about their contents.

Europe is as near to chaos to-day as at any time since the Dark Ages. The effect of four years of war, privation, and famine on men's minds is immeasurable. This deep discontent and fear is the ominous background of the Congress which is attempting to lay stable foundations for the future. The space of five months is little enough for the assembled statesmen of the world, with armies of experts and mountains of documents, to settle the innumerable problems before them. But before disentangling the issues, they had to learn what they were. Extreme nationalists were faced with national claims as insistent as their own; Mr. Wilson perhaps needed some personal contact with European affairs before he could teach them to be good Europeans; Mr. Lloyd George had to learn where Teschen is and what it means. Unhappily the sun and moon did not stand still while they coned their lesson. Chaos moved westward, and the Hungarian Revolution spurred on the Congress to decision, or at least to compromise in some cases, to open disagreement in others. It is useless to recount the fluctuations of opinion in Paris on the vague and contradictory reports accessible to the public. We may take Mr. George's actions, so far as they are known, as some index of the manner in which the Congress came to realize their task; for no man is more susceptible to atmosphere than he.

His election campaign was launched at the moment of victory. Although it was as certain as anything could be that the Government which had won the war would be chosen to make the peace, he seems to have feared political defeat. He gave rash undertakings about the indemnity that would be exacted from Germany, and his followers made his promises seem moderate. But Mr. George on the platform is the victim of his own eloquence; in council he inclines to reason. As the Supreme Council contracted to the Council of Ten, and the Ten to the Four, and the Four dwindled to Three, it became evident that he was among the moderates and played the part of conciliation. The urgent question was to ensure a stable settlement, to require from

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Germany what she could perform, to do justice without leaving a burning grievance. The impudent enthusiasm of the Brockdorff-Rantzau and the Erzbergers for the fourteen points is a sorry spectacle. 'How it is,' said Dr. Johnson, 'that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes?' But no statesman can contemplate territorial or financial arrangements which will be a permanent irritant to national pride or perpetuate disorder in the centre of Europe.

The dilemma that the French put to the Allies, at least in the press, was this: either give us adequate military frontiers or bind yourselves to come to our aid against German aggression. It was answered that the first demand, pressed to the extreme, challenged aggression, and that the League of Nations would guarantee reasonable frontiers. The French naturally distrusted a general undertaking of all nations, and, if rumour is to be believed, they have succeeded in gaining explicit pledges from two great Powers.

Meanwhile more sober ideas about the capacity of Germany to pay an indemnity began to penetrate men's minds, as the experts set assets over against liabilities. This aroused those who had pledged themselves to exact the full cost of the war from Germany. The story of the protest that followed is curious and instructive. Lord Northcliffe had posed as a moderate in November. He hailed Mr. Wilson as the saviour of Europe, lectured Italy on the dangers of asking too much, flirted with Labour. He was not asked to the Council, and retired to the south of France. With the change of climate he changed his mind. A distinguished person, whom nobody knows better than Lord Northcliffe, vouchsafed an interview to the *Westminster Gazette*, a staid Liberal organ. Then Mr. Kennedy Jones, his colleague and successor, who no doubt never suspected that the master of many newspapers would choose another paper for a pronouncement, whipped up three or four hundred Coalition members and sent Mr. George a telegram. The Prime Minister crossed the Channel, and met an uneasy House. The result was a Parliamentary triumph. It would be unkind to ask whether he justified his election promises. But he did give some assurance that he and his colleagues were seeking an enduring peace, and that is what

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the great majority of his countrymen earnestly desire. It is hard to foresee the consequences of the breach between him and Lord Northcliffe. The latter rarely appears in the open, and his opponent will certainly not allow him to shelter behind his press. On the whole Mr. Lloyd George has less to fear.

This quarrel is but one strand among the passions and ambitions of a Congress which is to bestow peace on the world. If the result is more than a bundle of compromises, creating and maintaining grievances, the world will be fortunate. Yet it is this arrangement, concluded in haste and secrecy, that the League of Nations will be called upon to support. There is every likelihood that both its judicial and military organization will be tested to the utmost.

In a dismal record one fact deserves to be mentioned. In the debate on the feeding of Germany a telegram was read from General Plumer, commanding the British army of occupation. He stated that his troops were so painfully surprised by the state of women and children in the occupied territory that they insisted that they should be fed. The incident makes one think better of human nature. Does history contain any parallel?

Labour.

It will be remembered that in 1914 the war staved off a serious labour crisis. Since then the war has radically changed conditions of life and work, and the adjustments made during the last few years have avowedly been expedients. With the coming of peace strike has followed strike, and at one time the whole industry of the country was threatened by a general strike. It may be worth while to analyse a concrete case in order to see what grievances the workers have.

The coal mining industry employs normally 1,100,000 men in 3,300 mines. They are more wretchedly housed than any industrial class in the country, and their occupation is one of exceptional danger. Every year there are in the mines from 160,000 to 170,000 reportable accidents, each involving at least seven days off, and in ten years there have been 12,400 deaths from such accidents. The average pay before the war was £82 a year; it is now £169. But the rise in the cost of living has

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been 115%. There is thus a decline in real wages, and the hours of labour are felt to be too long for such an arduous occupation.

The real demand of the miners is thus for an advance in the standard of life, and this advance would affect four or five million people. The coal owners reply that the profits of the trade are insufficient to allow of this change of standard, however desirable it may be.¹ To this the men answer that the present system of ownership and methods of working are uneconomic and that the mines should be nationalized. A Royal Commission under Mr. Justice Sankey was appointed and has issued an interim report—or rather three of them. I summarize the conclusions of the moderates, who include the Chairman and Mr. Balfour.

The miners are to have a seven hour day from July 1919, and a six hour day, subject to the economic state of the trade, two years later. The hours are hours of actual work, and are not counted from the pit-head. Wages are increased by a total sum of £30,000,000. To this must be added a further sum of £13,000,000 for decreased output. It is proposed that the owners should be allowed to retain 1s. 2d. per ton of coal raised. The deficit is to be met, it is suggested, by regular attendance on the part of the miners, and by economies in production, transit,¹ and distribution; it will be part of the future work of the Commission to work out detailed suggestions for economies. The Commissioners further suggest that 1d. per ton shall at once be collected to improve the housing in colliery districts. 'There are houses in some districts which are a reproach to our civilization. No judicial language is sufficiently strong or sufficiently severe to apply to their condemnation.' On present output this will yield £1,000,000 a year. It is evident from this that the miners have substantially won their case about the standard of living.

¹In the period 1915-8 the coal mining industry, after paying royalties and 10% on capital employed, produced nearly eighty million pounds. In 1919 the *excess* profits are estimated at £28,000,000.

¹One notorious source of waste is the retention by private owners of 700,000 colliery trucks for their own exclusive use. This involves a loss of 20% on the total cost of railway carriage.

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The attitude of the Commissioners on the question of management is no less striking. Although they postpone the report on the miners' demand for nationalization for further evidence, they make drastic suggestions for immediate enforcement. *'Even upon the evidence already given, the present system of ownership and working in the coal industry stands condemned, and some other system must be substituted for it, either nationalization or a method of unification by national purchase and/or by joint control.'* They report that the interests of the country require that the workers, who have now been educated socially and technically for a generation, shall 'have an effective voice in the direction of the mine.' This is a verdict of inefficiency against the present system. When we couple with these recommendations, which are not the work of extremists, the great changes in the transport system,² it is evident that in the next twenty years Great Britain will conduct an immense social and economic experiment, an experiment which would have appeared incredible before the war.

A. S. F.

² 'In the past private interest made for development, but to-day, I think I may say, it makes for colossal waste'.—Sir Eric Geddes, Minister of Ways and Communications, on transport.

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